National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 32. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1866. WHOLE NO. 1,384.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.
THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.
AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*
WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY B. STANTON

At the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is difficult to follow Mr. Phillips at any time. It is very difficult to follow him when he has made a speech to a meeting that has severely taxed their thinking powers. It is still more difficult to follow him before an audience who keep pulling their shawls over their shoulders because the room is so cold. I shall speak to this subject from a little different stand-point from that of my friend. I appear before you as a Republican—perhaps something a little more; you will ascertain soon. The subject upon which I will discourse, as briefly as I may, is this: The recent Republican victories—what do they mean? What is to be done with them?

I shall not ask you to go back with me to that eventful week in April, 1865, when the rebellion went down with a crash, and by the natural operation of the Constitution and the bullet of Wilkes Booth, Andrew Johnson rose to the seat left vacant by Abraham Lincoln. He found the governmental superstructure shattered, its pillars broken and lying prostrate at his feet, the very ground upon which it stood rent in sunder by our great civil convulsion. To reconstruct the government was the work of the new President. Here was a labor that might have tasked the wisdom of Washington, the genius of Jefferson, the multifarious learning of Adams, and the electric energy of Jackson. And yet the indescribable individual, from the cross-roads of Tennessee, undertook, solitary and alone, to accomplish this great achievement. It was eight months before Congress could regularly assemble; and though, under the provisions of the Constitution, he might have called it around him and taken counsel therefrom, he laid his hand on the tiller and undertook to steer the ship of state unaided through the most terrible storm that has ever beaten upon it. (Hear, hear.)

Instantly two questions arose: What shall be the terms of reconstruction? and who shall propose them?

And first, as to the terms, in addition to what my friend has said. The South, after contesting this issue with us for a third of a century in the forum, sent it to the battle-field. After a war that made the round world vibrate in its orbit under the tread of armies, the [illegible] successful, and placed its foot as a conqueror upon the neck of the prostrate South. You need not go to the mouldy volumes of Vattel or Grotius to know what rights the conqueror acquires in war. Turn over the recent page of European history, and there you will find that victorious Prussia, with the bayonet of her needle-gun, erased Hanover from the map of German kingdoms, threw the throne of the monarch into the Baltic, took his crown off his head, and sent him an exile to foreign lands. What Prussia had the right to do with the German kingdom of Hanover, this Federal government has a right to do with every defeated belligerent State, as a body politic, in the South. (Applause.) It has the right, won by the sword, to erase every such State, as a body politic, from the map of the Union. (Applause.)

More than that—not only were the belligerent States defeated in war, but nine-tenths of their adult population were traitors, and, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, are subject to the penalty of death. To-night, practically, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, nine-tenths of this class of the white population of the South stand upon the scaffold, with but a trap-door between them and eternity. God forbid that we should enforce these rights and exact these penalties; but when Southern gentlemen talk about terms of reconstruction, I wish to suggest to them the precise position in which they stand before this country and the world, and to say to them that aught short of punishment for your crimes as individuals, and the blotting of your States from the map of this Republic, is to be received as a boon granted by us, and not exacted as a right by you. (Applause.)

Andrew Johnson turned his back on Congress, the only body that had a right to prescribe terms of reunion. An unseemly quarrel arose between the Executive and the Legislative departments. Each presented a plan, and they sent the case down to the people for trial. You heard the thunders of the recent elections. They were music to my ears. But what did the verdict of the ballot-box mean? Here I shall differ, doubtless, from some of my Republican friends and associates. It would be a gross error to suppose that this verdict meant an unqualified approval of the proposed Constitutional Amendment. It meant nothing of the kind. One-half the people who voted the Republican tickets in the recent election, had but a faint idea of what the Constitutional Amendment is. I have looked in the eyes of tens of thousands this Fall, from our platforms, and felt the magnetism which every speaker can understand but no speaker can explain; and I know that the recent verdict rendered at the ballot-box does not mean an unconditional approval of the Constitutional Amendment. But these thunders mean two things most emphatically.

First, They mean that the loyal people of the North intend to tread out, utterly and finally, what is left of this rebellion. (Applause.) I have looked into the glowing faces of "the boys in blue" during this canvass, and somehow it seemed to me that they had got it into their heads that they were cutting off the rear-guard of the rebellion. They knew that they trampled the life out of its body during the active war. They were now stamping the wriggles out of its forked tail. (Applause.)

Second, These great political victories mean another thing. While they are not an unqualified approval of the Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress, they are an unqualified condemnation of the whole conduct and policy of the President of the United States in respect to the questions at issue. (Applause.) And, my Republican friends, let me warn you, let me warn Congress, that this is pretty much all they do mean. They are a "finality" upon Johnson and his policy. But the people have purposely left the whole subject of reconstruction open for consideration—yea, for reconsideration and appropriate action. (Applause.)

What is the course now to be pursued? Two lines of policy are suggested. One has been discussed somewhat by Mr. Phillips to-night. It is to erect exceptional governments in the Southern States; it is to make them *quasi* territories. I may differ slightly with him. Eighteen months ago, when the South were pliant, that would have been a wise policy, and would have been accepted by the South cheerfully as a condition of reconstruction. I seriously fear it is too late to-day. I fear it because moneyed men, commercial men, men who contemplate the clouds which begin to lower over our foreign relations, as they look down the long vista of trouble which this plan would open, would be full of distrust and anxiety. Still, it may have to be resorted to as a dernier. My chief fear is, that it would result ultimately in depriving the negro of his full rights.

The other plan—the one which I favor, and which, in the remaining remarks I have to make, I shall commend to you—is this: I would say to Congress, the South has rejected, or will reject, your Constitutional Amendment. Reject it? It is to-night as dead as Socrates. It is already landed, in this fast, practical age, high and dry among the antediluvians. Reject it? You may punish ten thousand of the leading men of the South by dooming them to death at the drum-head; but you never can pursuade them to commit suicide by ratifying the third clause of that Amendment. Reject it? It is now pending before the Southern Legislatures. The moment they ratify it, three-fourths of their members will be rendered, by their own act, incapacitated for holding office. No matter what they deserve; they will never consent to thus ostracise themselves. (Hear.)

The Constitutional Amendment, in my judgment, has too much vengeance for foes and too little reward for friends. It has too much punishment in respect to the past, and too little protection in regard to the future. It is defective, in that it does not settle once for all the great issue, by making the loyal negro of the South as powerful politically as the white rebel. (Applause.) It is deficient in that it throws under the heel of the ruling element of the South the loyal blacks and the loyal whites, and thus discourages fealty to the government and offers a premium for future rebellion. (Applause.)

Now, my plan would be this: strike out the second and third clauses in the proposed amendment, and, instead thereof, incorporate into the Federal Constitution, as a part of the fundamental law, to exist for all time, universal suffrage, for North and South, for blacks and whites. (Applause.)

The rebel South would accept this far more readily than the pending amendment. My proposition does not touch their honor; that amendment does. If it be intended that they shall ratify the plan of reconstruction, this consideration cannot be disregarded.

The loyal white Southerners who stood by us in the war, demand negro suffrage as their protecting shield. They have earned it by devotion to their country in perilous times. The riots in Memphis and New Orleans; the elections recently in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky, should prove to Congress, as they have proved to them, that all disfranchising restrictions upon rebels are ropes of sand—are mere withes to restrain an aroused Samson. The rebels will throw them off and break from them. They are no protection to either negro or loyal white in the South. (Applause.)

But the negro himself deserves the suffrage. Abstractly this is his right. He is a man and a citizen. Give him the rights which belong to him as such. More than this—his conduct during the war, his fidelity to the government, sprinkling its flag on many a battle-field with his heart's blood, has earned him this right. I say to my Republican friends that if, while conferring rights and privileges upon the enemies of our country in the South with a liberal hand, our party should so act as to deprive the negro of that most precious right and privilege, the ballot, it would constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of political treachery and national ingratitude. (Applause.) I fervently trust the Republican party will never permit such a chapter to be found in its annals. Give the negro the ballot, and it is pretty much all the protection he needs. With it he can purchase all else. Give it, and you may split your Freedman's Bureau into kindling-wood. (Applause.)

Here I am met with an objection. It is said the negro ought not to have the suffrage, because he has not sufficient capacity to exercise the right—because he does not know enough. This objection comes mostly from Northern Democrats. I will say to them, in reply: The negro knew enough to take not only the right side during the war, but the winning side, and you did not. (Laughter and applause.) If lack of knowledge should incapacitate for the right of suffrage, you should go overboard, and he come on deck.

Again, like Falstaff, I am a great believer in instinct; and the negro, I am sure, with the ballot in his hand, would, through instinct, know his friends at the polls.

Again, capacity is a relative term. All men are not equally fit for governmental affairs. The scale begins very high, and descends fearfully low. Mrs. Malaprop has said, "Comparisons are odorous;" and I think if I were to draw the comparisons suggested by a view of the voters of my own city, with regard to their capacity and fitness for governmental affairs, "my offence would be rank and smell to heaven." The first city in this Union—yea, in the Western Hemisphere—the first in population, the first in commerce, the first in wealth, the first in art, the first in intelligence—one of the lights of the world—is ruled by men who, were you to lay before them a copy of the Constitution of the United States and of the Koran of Mahomet, could not, to save their souls from purgatory, tell which was the Constitution and which the Koran. (Applause.) If any of them were candidates, and their own names were printed in letters so large that "you would have to holler to read them," they could not pick them out upon the ballots. Yet the negro is not fit to vote! I contend that, looking at the mass of voters we now have, North and South, he might pass in that crowd. (Laughter.)

I now propose to say something about the Republican party. I do not know how eulogistically I may speak of it; but I will speak plainly. I know the party thoroughly. The question is, Will it meet this issue? There are a great many mere politicians in the party, and too few statesmen. It is made up of three classes of men, with respect to negro suffrage—those who earnestly desire it, and will not be denied; those who are coldly in favor of it; and those who are somewhat—perhaps decidedly—opposed to it. Let the first class, the positive men, take the lead, and the rest will follow, as the tail always follows the head. I tell the party, in all candor, that if they blink this issue, and refuse to confer the right of suffrage on the negro, they may set their houses in order, for their time is come. (Applause.) They may evade the question to-day by a subterfuge; but it will return upon them to-morrow. They may crush it down by an unholy compromise in this Congress; but, elastic and irrepressible, it will spring to its feet in the next and confront them, armed *cap-a-pie* in the weapons of righteousness and truth. They might as well attempt to dam up Niagara with the struggling moonbeams of a misty night, as to resist the onward march of universal suffrage in this country. The waters, by the irrepealable law of gravity, would sweep over the declivity in spite of all their shadowy obstructions. (Applause.)

In the language of Dr. Watts, which just occurs to me—looking to the perilous position of the party, I exclaim:

"On slippery rocks I see them stand,
And fiery billows roll below."

The "slippery rocks" of a cowardly expediency, the "fiery billows" of a hungry Democracy. (Laughter.) Are the Republicans aware that a change of 24,000 votes would give the Democrats the next Presidency, even though no electoral votes were counted except those of the twenty-six States now represented in Congress? Let us look into this a little. Let us scan it in the light of the nine digits. Ladies, you who want to vote, let me tell you that politics is mere nose-counting. Statesmanship is a far more elevated pursuit. But the question among politicians always is, at a close election, who can count the most noses. Let us count noses to-night.

The Democracy are sure, in the coming Presidential election, of four States—Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware and Tennessee. That gives them 33 votes. They then lack 91. Where will they get the 91? The three great States of New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana, and the four small States of Connecticut, New Jersey, Nevada and Oregon give precisely the 91 votes required to elect a Democratic President in 1868. And in those seven States what was the Republican majority at the last election? It was 47,000 in the aggregate. Therefore, change 24,000 votes in those seven States, and the Democrats have the next Presidency, counting no electoral votes except those of the twenty-six States now represented in Congress. So, too, if you withdraw from the ballot-boxes 47,000 Republican votes in those seven States, the result is the same.

Now, when the Republican party, by word or action, or non-action, shows that it has turned its back upon the question of negro suffrage—when it ignores it, then, in these seven States, 47,000 voters—nay, three times 47,000—that have just cast their ballots with that party, will turn their backs upon it and ignore it; while, throughout the whole country, the numbers who have recently sustained its candidates, but would then desert it, would reach a quarter of a million. I assure the party that it cannot afford to prove faithless to that race which, during our great conflict, baptized the national banner with their blood. (Applause.) If it turn recreant to them, their friends, from the Aroostook to the Sacramento, will "dash it in pieces like a potter's vessel." I warn my Republican associates that, if in the approaching Congress they fall upon this stone, they will be broken; and if in the Presidential contest, it fall upon them, it will grind them to powder. But though they may perish, the cause will not be lost. For the stone which these builders rejected, shall yet become the head of the corner. (Applause.)

Let me go a little further into this subject of nose-counting. What do you think is the majority in this nation of the party that now rules the country? Majority, my friends? Why, of the population, North and South, the Republicans are in a minority of more than three million. They have a slight majority of the population in the North; but there is an overwhelming majority of the people against them in the South, excluding the negroes. How do the figures stand with respect to the voters? Take the North and South at the latest elections, and the Democratic majority in the whole country is more than half a million. When I see the Republicans in a minority of three millions of people, and half a million of voters, am I not right in saying that they stand upon "slippery rocks," while "fiery billows roll below?"

What is the remedy? How can we restore the equilibrium? I answer—Enfranchise the negro, which will instantly add to the Republican party four millions of population and 700,000 voters. (Applause.)

I have another word of admonition for the party. Not only are they in the minority in population and voters; but the great portion of their political strength lies in one section of the country. I assure them that no sectional party can long rule this Republic against such an antagonist as the Democratic organization, which spreads over both North and South in about equal proportions. This country has been educated into a distrust of a mere sectional party. To attempt to rule it by a party whose strength is all on one side of the line between the old free and slave States, is as futile as to attempt to make a fence ten miles long and fifty feet high stand erect by putting your braces all on one side. While the wind blows one way, it will stand; but when it blows in the other direction, it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof. (Hear.)

A word or too concerning Congress. It is a conglomerate of puny politicians and sagacious statesmen. I know it too well to yield it implicit confidence. Much given to boastful babble, it is often loud in profession, but tame in performance. Still, I believe a majority of its members, irrespective of party, are fit for their positions both on the score of mental capacity and moral character. As to the rest—well—they are so-so; and this, according to the philosophic Touchstone, "is not very good, for it is only so-so." Nevertheless, I have a respectful regard for and a hopeful faith in Congress. They have power to incorporate my proposition into their amendment, and present it to the South and demand its ratification as a condition precedent to reconstruction; for the same principle is involved in the pending Amendment. They have the courage to do this, because they have bravely confronted presidential vetoes and defied Executive maledictions, and were not afraid to vote themselves $4,000 extra pay under a flimsy pretext of paying bounties to soldiers, and then send out committees to examine into the alleged peccadilloes of other people. Therefore, I cannot excuse them from securing this great reform either for lack of power or want of courage. And yet, by refusing to enforce negro suffrage, Congress may deprive the Republican party of necessary support, and thus cause the election in 1868 of a Democratic President—just as the Whig party, by declining to follow its advanced leaders on the slavery question, finally gave up the ghost. Be not alarmed, O timid but honest Republican. Perhaps this is the very medicine the country needs. Buchanan's pills, administered for four years restored it to convalescence in 1860. If it is dosed in 1868 with a President selected from the copperhead and semi-rebel pharmacopy—one combining all the base elements of Pierce, Polk and Buchanan, with a strong tincture of Tyler and Fillmore thrown in, perhaps four years of such practice would work a radical cure. That would carry the country to the election of 1872; and then, with all rights secured for all, we would be ready in 1876 to celebrate the centennial anniversary of national independence, by declaring in very deed that all men are created equal and have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. (Applause.) But I must close.

A Southern friend of mine, whom I met yesterday, coming on in the cars, tried to convince me that the North was too severe, and he called my attention to the parable of the Prodigal Son; and I have since turned the parable over in my mind. He said, "We ought to treat the South like the Prodigal Son was treated. You seem to be a fair-minded man. How would you like to be kept out of Congress as you now keep the South out?" I said to him, "If I had, after taking an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, gone into rebellion, and struggled four years to break up the most beneficent government on earth, piling up a debt of three thousand millions, and sending unanointed and unannointed to their last home a half million of men, and had failed, I should think I had got well out of the dire dilemma with twenty-five cents in my pocket and an unbroken neck." My friend still clung to the Prodigal Son. It is a beautiful parable, and I have been conning it over. You recollect that the son demanded of his father his share of the inheritance, and, having got it, went into a far country, and spent it in riotous living and otherwise. In that, I think the parallel between the two cases is striking. The South demanded their share—they took it without the leave of the old Federal gentleman; they went into a far country, and they spent it in riotous living and otherwise. But when the prodigal was brought to the husks, you remember, he said, "I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. Make me as one of thy hired servants." How striking is the parallel in that respect! (Laughter and applause.) The South come back, and swagger up to Uncle Sam, and slapping him on the shoulder, say in rude tones, "How do you do, old fellow? How have you fared since we have been gone? Had a pretty hard time of it since we left? Where are Stevens and Sumner? Come, let them dust up the chairs at the Capitol, and get them ready! Come, hurry up the fatted calf; bring out the viands; and let's eat, drink and be merry." And our Democratic friends would have us spread the public table, with the fatted calf smoking thereon, and have Wade, and Butler, and Colfax, and Phillips, and poor Greeley, put on their white aprons and white jackets, and stand behind the chairs, while Stevens, as head waiter, would say, "Mr. Davis, would you like a slice of the veal well done, or rare?" (Laughter.) Whereupon, Seward begins to draw the corks, and Grant to circulate the cigars, while Johnson, the humble individual, gives the first toast: "Our Southern prodigals! returned but not repented; they were lost and are found; they were dead, but are alive and kicking again!" (Laughter.)

I rather think our Southern prodigals will find that this is not precisely the entertainment to which they have been invited. (Applause.)

I will now close, sir, with the expression of my firm belief that we are to succeed. As I said in your meeting this afternoon, I made my first speech against slavery while a boy at college, in 1832; thirty four years ago last August. I began this struggle while the slave was clanking his chains. I have fought it out on this line until I have seen the slave become a freeman, and the freeman a citizen; and I have an abiding conviction that I shall live to see the citizen become an elector. (Applause.) Yes, my friends, though the sky be overcast, and curtained with dark clouds; though the thunders reverberate; though the ship of state, which our fathers launched in the great storm of the Revolution, lies tempest-tossed on a wild and dangerous sea; and though the man at the helm refuses to consult the chart, and a part of the crew have mutinied, yet, thanks to God, the great majority of the mariners and marines stand faithfully by their halyards and firmly by their guns. And though the night be dark, yet, with the eye of an assured hope, I see a bright and beautiful being walking upon the crests of the waves. It is the Genius of Liberty, the Spirit of the Nineteenth Century. And I hear these words ring out on the troubled air, shrill above the roar of the tempest: "Loyal men and women of America, be not dismayed; be of good cheer. It is I. Lo, I am with you even unto the end." *Nil d-sperandum, duce Deo!* (Loud applause.)

THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF THE LOYAL BLACKS.

DR. CREEVER, Thanksgiving morning, delivered a discourse, taking for his text the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th verses of the 58th chapter of Isaiah as follows:

"Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger and speaking vainly;

"And if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noonday;

"And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones: and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose gardens fail not.

"And they that shall be of thee shall wield the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the old foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

The speaker said that a redeemed and grateful people should bring to God the best offerings of gratitude, and these should be brought most gratefully. What He requires these offerings to show is that we have dealt justly, that we love mercy, and are not ashamed to walk humbly before Him. No other offering would He accept. The legislators of our government should now reconstruct the nation in righteousness and justice, which is the work and opportunity that God has given them. By getting rid of slavery they will again raise up the foundations of justice, and this they must do, as the choice of work lay between serfdom and justice. It was requested of all to bring an offering of thanksgiving on this occasion. Nearly every pulpit would speak of blessings without referring to the citizenship and full representation of the colored race, although God had instructed the people that justice and mercy was the sacrifice that would be most acceptable to Him. The great question of representation was now engaging the nation's attention. The Constitution intended that all citizens, whether black or white, should be entitled to a full representation, and this could not be withheld from them except by altering the Constitution so that the fraud could be perpetrated. The speaker here referred to the Constitutional Amendment in strong terms of denunciation. This, he said, was intended to take away from the colored people the right to vote, and was a proposition to return that race, which God had delivered from slavery, into the hands of their enemies. Some of the most honored men of the Republican party had acknowledged the fact that the amendment was designed to keep the colored people in a state of ignorance, vassalage, and serfdom. This was the actual essence of this amendment, which proposed to give to the rebels the right and power to hold the black race in perpetual serfdom; all of which was held to be a just and wise expediency. No language could tell the infamy of such a proposition. The least the nation could do in bare justice was to give the colored people a participation in the very law by which God permitted us to become a free and prosperous nation. It was the basest act of injustice to throw them back into a state of degradation, vassalage, and serfdom from which they could never escape, and push them down from the basis of white representation as low as the sewers of the rebellion. Oppressions in the governments of the Old World arise from the right of representation being taken from the people. The nation, therefore, should deal justly with the race which saved the nation's life. In depriving that race of the right of representation the nation would acquire an infamy from which it would never recover. It would plunge itself into the gulf of guilt. Citizenship should be conferred on all who had been deprived of it. The basis of success for the nation was the constitutional basis of representation for the colored people and whites together. Slavery was abolished by compulsion, and now it was proposed to make a voluntary return of the colored race to the slavery from which God had delivered them. The Constitutional Amendment would be a palace for the whites and a prison for the blacks. The cutting off of a race from representation merely for the exaltation of another race was a violation of God's law and a blow at the life of liberty and good government. And yet it was proposed to take away from the blacks that which makes white men men indeed—namely, the right of suffrage and representation. The revolutionary war determined that a denial of the right of suffrage was slavery. But politicians had forgotten this teaching. The history of this country was to be written by three wars: First, the war of the Revolution, which was for representative freedom; second, God's war of Abolition; and, third, the war of races, which, when it comes, will be God's war of revenge. The war of races could only be averted by permitting the blacks to enjoy the right of representation. It had been said that it was not expedient to give them the vote. The speaker said that was something that could not be given. It *belonged;* it could not be given. States could protect and regulate it, but they could not give it, and for them to destroy it, except for crime, was a power that was not granted by the Constitution. There was no such power or possibility of power in that document. The Constitutional Amendment, which sought to deprive the colored people of the elective franchise, and throw them back into the hands of rebels, was intended to legalize robbery. Its motive was mean and infamous. If it should be adopted, the government would stultify itself, for the nation was bound by its abolition of slavery, and could not be unfaithful to its pledge without violating the decrees and will of Providence. To conciliate the rebels by betraying the blacks was infamous beyond expression. Such an act would be a burning stench in all history. The most unchristian act of the age would be the carrying out of the proposed amendment to the Constitution. It would be a disgrace to the Christian Church. Neither Church nor State had risen to the opportunity presented to perform the grandest act in the history of all the ages—namely, the enfranchisement of the colored race.

In conclusion, the speaker said he praised God that every Southern State promised to reject the amendment, and that there was great hope that it would not be ratified by the New York Legislature.

MR. GREELEY'S LATEST MANIFESTO.

From the Chicago Tribune.

HORACE GREELEY, who seizes on every occasion to state his position over his full signature, and who states it any way, even without occasion, but never without his signature, is coming West, and this fact he makes an excuse for a declaration of principles. It is just such a declaration as might have been looked for. The Republicans having carried the elections, and secured full control of the government for three years to come, it is just the time for Mr. Horace Greeley to propose a surrender to the rebels of the South and the copperheads of the North. It is his peculiarity. He is invariably frightened out of his wits by the consciousness of being the victor, and immediately proposes to change places with the vanquished. Universal suffrage and universal amnesty has been his cry for a long time; and now that the North is in a position to enforce this or any other condition it may please, Mr. Greeley announces that he is in favor of the amnesty any way, "even though for the present impartial suffrage should be resisted and defeated." In other words, he would first give the rebels their amnesty, and let the rights of the negroes take their chances afterward. He would open the doors of Jeff. Davis's prison, and send him forth clad with all the rights and privileges of a loyal citizen, his offences washed out before the law, and his position as a leader of the South restored to him. The murderers of our prisoners at Andersonville, the assassins of Abraham Lincoln, the perjured villains who lived on the bounty of the government while plotting its destruction. Lee, Beauregard, Toombs, Breckinridge, Forrest, the butcher of Fort Pillow, all the leaders in the great conspiracy that deluged the land with blood, must be forgiven and freely pardoned—sent forth with no mark of ignominy upon them, and no rebuke of the damning crime they have committed. We are to let them take their places as the champions and representatives of the people of the South, the honored leaders of public opinion and the examples for coming generations. But as to the negroes, who have been true to the flag, who promptly answered every call, and came forth to defend it in battle, their rights are to be left to the chances of the future. First see that the traitors are freed from all possibility of punishment—first put them beyond the reach of law or justice, and then we will see what can be done for the negroes. Such is the policy of Mr. Horace Greeley. He is much more anxious to save Jeff. Davis and the rebel leaders from merited punishment, than he is to secure the rights of the loyal men of the South.

This policy is eminently in keeping with Mr. Greeley's career, which has been consistently inconsistent. It makes no difference with how much apparent earnestness he may advocate a principle, the moment it becomes possible to put that principle into practical operation, that moment Mr. Greeley is certain to dodge off and begin a negotiation with its beaten enemy. The people of this country think the rights of the loyal men of the South should be secured to begin with, and that amnesty should depend upon the future. Mr. Greeley is a candidate for the Senate of the United States. Should he be elected, the Republicans could generally count on his co-operation when it was not needed; but the moment it might become necessary to carry through any measure, would be the precise moment when it would become doubtful.

SHALL WE SEND HORACE GREELEY TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

From the Brooklyn Union.

THERE is very little discussion going on in the public press with reference to the choice of a United States Senator in January next. We regret this, for, while the choice is one of very great importance—of greater importance, indeed, than any act the Legislature or the people will be called upon to perform in several years—it is one which is not likely to be publicly discussed save in the press. The election is required to be made on the second Tuesday in January, and only one week will be allowed, after the convening of the Legislature, in which to canvass the merits of the various candidates for nomination, and it is not a question on which there is likely to be any great amount of agitation by means of public meetings. The drift of public feeling is in favor of Horace Greeley. The deliberate verdict of public judgment is, we are convinced, against him. Doubtless the feeling which favors Mr. Greeley's election is a generous one, creditable to the hearts of those who entertain it, and decidedly of the cast known as patriotic. It is felt that he has been an honest man, devoted to high purposes, bold in their prosecution, eloquent against great wrongs, fearless in great reforms, and that he is a strong popular worker. There is yet remaining, too, some of that hardy spirit which in 1860 would have sent Mr. Greeley (or the arch-fiend) to the Senate to spite the South. But if the Legislature surrender to such feelings against their calmer judgment, it will be a great mistake. A Senator, in these days, needs courage and a clear head. It will be bad for the country if the New York Senator to be chosen has either without the other. Seeing his way clearly, if he has not firmness, pluck, and self-possession sufficient to follow it, or with any amount of will, if he is incapable of making a calm, comprehensive, and enduring decision, the State will be in danger from his words and acts. Now Mr. Greeley has shown at various times each of these qualities unaccompanied by its complement. He has been wise without boldness and fearless without wisdom. He is capable of the most heroic devotion to absurdities and the most unmanly surrender of essential principles. He has allowed small things to baulk him when he pursued great ends, and he has performed gigantic labor for ends ridiculously small. He is subject, too, to very serious and distracting attacks of that most fearful of political diseases, "If," and he was, at three periods in our late war, guilty of imperilling our success while laboring under these convulsions. "If" a fair vote could have been taken he would have given the choice between secession and loyalty to the rebels, forgetting that no such vote could be taken, and that, even were it possible, the nation could not thus submit the question of its life. "If" our country was going to be rent, he would like to have Switzerland preside over its division, forgetting that the people rightfully felt as Grant did when he said that, if his army of fifty thousand were to retreat across the Tennessee, transports for ten thousand would be all he would require, and that if the country were to be divided it would only be when there was nothing left to divide. "If" peace could come through negotiation he was willing to negotiate, forgetting that no negotiation but that necessary for complete surrender was possible. And even now there are apparently well-founded rumors afloat that Mr. Greeley is acting on the principle that "if" the President and the South would consent, something might yet be patched up to cover the gulf that divides the North and the South, forgetting that only the strong hand of the nation, reaching out through Congress, can bring together and firmly weld the two sections by making the South of like quality and temper in its political system with the North.

For our part, with the warmest admiration for Mr. Greeley's personal character, with the highest respect for his motives, and with deep gratitude for the great work he has done in his time and way, we cannot refrain from saying that he will be wiser, abler, more influential as an editor than he possibly can be as a Senator.

THE RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

MR. SUMNER, on Wednesday, the 5th inst., offered the following resolutions:

Resolutions declaring the true principles of reconstruction—the jurisdiction of Congress over the whole subject—the illegality of the existing governments in the rebel States, and the exclusion of such States with such illegal governments from representation in Congress and from voting on Constitutional Amendments.

Be it resolved, etc., first: That in the work of reconstruction it is important that no false step shall be taken, interposing obstacles or delay, but that by careful provisions we shall make haste to complete the work so that the unity of the Republic shall be secured on permanent foundations, and fraternal relations shall once more be established among all the people thereof.

Second: That the end can only be accomplished by following the guiding principles of our institutions, as declared by our forefathers when the Republic was formed, and that any neglect or forgetfulness of these guiding principles must postpone the establishment of Union, justice, domestic tranquillity, the general welfare and the blessings of liberty, which are the declared objects of the Constitution and, therefore, must be the essential object of reconstruction itself.

Third: That this work of reconstruction must be conducted by Congress and under its constant supervision; that, under the Constitution, Congress is solemnly bound to assume this responsibility, and that, in the performance of this duty, it must see that everywhere throughout [illegible] communities loyalty is protected and advanced, while the new governments are fashioned according to the requirements of a Christian commonwealth, so that order, tranquillity, education and human rights shall prevail within their borders.

Fourth: That, in determining what is a republican form of government, Congress must follow implicitly the definition supplied by the Declaration of Independence; and in the practical application of this definition, it must, after excluding all disloyal persons, take care that new governments are founded on the two fundamental truths therein contained: First, that all men are equal in rights; and second, that all just governments stand only on the consent of the governed.

Fifth: That all proceedings with a view to reconstruction, originating in Executive power, are in the nature of usurpation; that this usurpation becomes especially offensive when it sets aside the fundamental truth of our institutions; that it is shocking to common sense when it undertakes to derive new governments from that hostile population which has just been engaged in armed rebellion; and that all governments having such origin, are necessarily illegal and void.

Sixth: That it is the duty of Congress to proceed with the work of reconstruction, and to this end it must assume jurisdiction of the States lately in rebellion, except as far as that jurisdiction may have been already renounced; and it must recognize only the loyal States, or those States having legal and valid Legislatures, as entitled to representation in Congress or to a voice in the adoption of Constitutional Amendments.

Mr. Sumner—I do not propose to discuss these resolutions. I have introduced them as a statement of the case. I see no chance for peace in the rebel States until Congress does its duty by assuming jurisdiction over that whole region. Those resolutions declare briefly the duty of Congress in that regard and assign reasons therefor. I have said I have no purpose now to discuss them; but I hold in my hand a letter which I received yesterday from a friend of our cause in Texas, which is so important in its statements and so direct in its bearing on the question raised by these resolutions that, with the indulgence of the Senate, I will read briefly from it.

Mr. McDougall (Dem. Cal.)—Allow me to ask the Senator from Massachusetts, will the signature be read? will the name of the writer be read?

Mr. Sumner—I shall not read the signature.

Mr. McDougall—Ah, I thought not.

Mr. Sumner—I shall not read the signature, because I could not read it without exposing the writer to violence, persecution or death.

Mr. Davis Dem., (Ky.) rose to a point of order. He asked whether it was in order for Mr. Sumner to read a letter? Whether it was in order for him to introduce the reading of a letter into his speech?

The Chair said Mr. Sumner had unquestionably a right to make any letter a part of his speech.

Mr. Sumner then read the letter, withholding the signature. He said it was written at Texas, November 19, 1866, and came to him yesterday. It stated that the really loyal men of Texas concur in thinking that the first move of the Republican party at the approaching session of Congress should be the passage of an act abolishing the slave State governments that have been set up in the South without authority of law, declaring all their acts, except so far as on revision, they may be confirmed by competent authority, to have been null and void from the beginning. The letter then goes on to detail what the writer states to be the condition of affairs in Texas, the persecution of Union men, etc. Mr. Sumner, at the conclusion of his remarks, moved that his resolutions be printed.

The resolutions were ordered to be printed.

GOV. HAMILTON, OF TEXAS, ON "IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE."

TREMONT TEMPLE MEETING.

By invitation of the Impartial Suffrage League of Massachusetts, Hon. Andrew J. Hamilton, late Provisional Governor of Texas, on Monday evening, delivered an address upon "Suffrage and Reconstruction." Gov. Hamilton was heartily greeted as he appeared upon the platform, accompanied by well-known citizens. He was introduced to the audience by Rev. Dr. Miner, one of the officers of the League.

Gen. Hamilton began his address by a defence of the Constution of the United States against those who condemned it because of its sanction of slavery, claiming that under it slavery had been blotted out, and that it had conferred, and would yet confer, inestimable blessings on the people of the United States. He then proceeded to argue that under the Constitution, Congress has the right to regulate the question of suffrage in the States, inasmuch as the Constitution, by leaving the qualifications of voters for the States to decide upon, does not give them power to exclude whole classes of citizens, and Congress is required to see that every State has a republican form of government. To deny to the freedmen, who are now citizens of

the United States, and entitled to all the rights and privileges secured to citizens by the Constitution, the right of suffrage, is a plain and clear infraction of that instrument. No State has a right to make odious distinctions between free citizens. We are not dealing with slaves under a State government, but with freemen under the Constitution of the United States.

It was never intended to leave the question of suffrage wholly with the States. Otherwise they might so circumscribe it as to establish an oligarchy and overthrow republican government. Four millions of people have been added to the free citizens of the United States, and the principles of the Constitution must be applied to them the same as to other citizens. If there is power to exclude those who never had the right of suffrage, there is also power to disfranchise those who have had it. Majorities may disfranchise minorities. As to the fitness of the freedmen for the ballot, he declared that they were reasonably intelligent in regard to the ordinary affairs of life, industrious, obedient to law, firm believers in the Christian religion, anxious to acquire homes and elevate their race, and loved and venerated the United States government and its friends North and South. In regard to mental capacity, the white race have little to boast of when compared with educated blacks. In point of industry, sobriety and obedience to laws, they are superior to the Southern whites. It is essential in the work of reconstruction to invoke the assistance of the black man, because the ruling class in the South is thoroughly disloyal, more so than during the war, and is watching for another opportunity to realize its plan of separate independence and the re-establishment of negro slavery, which indeed still exists there in all except the name. The question whether the Southern States were really out of the Union during the rebellion was discussed in the affirmative, and the conclusion drawn that they must be treated as conquered enemies. Universal amnesty was condemned as the greatest political heresy of the day, and universal suffrage declared to be a necessity and a foregone conclusion. The government must be protected from the spirit of disloyalty at the South by giving the ballot to the freedmen and by establishing military governments there or passing an enabling act by which only loyal citizens shall hold the reins of power. Sufficient land should be taken from the late slaveholders to give every freedman a home, pay for the equalization of bounties to the soldiers, and compensate loyal men at the South for what they have suffered at the hands of the rebels.

Mr. Hamilton spoke for upwards of two hours, reading the larger portion of his address. The closing portion, in which he dwelt on the necessity of enfranchising the freedmen and punishing the rebels, was frequently applauded.—*Commonwealth.*

REV. M. D. CONWAY ON JAMAICA AND THE NEGRO.

YESTERDAY the Rev. M. D. Conway delivered an address in the Unitarian Chapel, South Place, Finsbury, upon the question of the negro. He said that sixty years since America and England abolished the slave trade, but it was only superseded by a system of slave-breeding. This was abolished by England, and after twenty-eight years the doom of slavery had been accomplished in America. In America even now oppression was calling on trade to restore its fortunes, by again converting the hearts and brains of black men into cotton and sugar; and had not England been always regarding, from the shopkeeping point of view, the races of men which had been confided to her to govern and civilize? It would appear as if the average Englishman had had an impression that Cuffee *was* coffee done up in a human-like way. The reformers fought their good fight on that line. They remembered the effect produced upon the slave trade by 300,000 people pledging themselves not to use any island produce while it lasted, and they now tried to prove that free workmen would supply more sugar and coffee than slaves. Had they appealed to the more certain gain to humanity, they would have found that the shopkeeper is not, after all, the innermost Englishman; and though they might have waited for the victory, their successors might have escaped the reaction which set in when the figures of sugar and rum began to shrink, and which reached its climax in the dreadful outbreaks and massacre of last year. That reaction was one of the saddest and yet most instructive pages of modern history. From the first was that fatal admission to the shopkeeping view that the negro's *chief end was to raise sugar* and coffee. The *planters, already proved incompetent* to keep any contract with a negro, were given the whole power of Great Britain to bolster up their unnatural preponderance in the island. They combined to keep the negro from owning an acre of land, for that meant a home, and, in that fruitful land, freedom from absolute want. Hence, wherever a negro settled he was charged an exorbitant rent, and the rate of wages was fixed so low that it was almost impossible to pay the rent, and thus the negro was fettered with an inextinguishable debt. The scheme of the planters was thus described in 1843 by the then Governor of Jamaica: "It is evident that rent is now regulated in plantations solely with a view to the exaction of labor." The idleness, as it had been called, of the negro was but a long struggle for a home and independence, which had been going on for twenty-five years, and the tactics of the planters in Jamaica were well calculated to sting the blacks into some acts which might induce England to grant increased power of oppressing him. Their success was more complete than they had desired; but it was enough to give the Governor an opportunity to anticipate the realization of the planter's ideal, and, by deliberately hanging the political representative of the negroes, to give the world a study of the new government.

Mr. Conway went on to say that, as an American, he would be silent concerning some bearings of the events which had occurred a year ago in Jamaica; but upon some others, as a Southerner and a friend of the negro, it was his duty to speak. He believed those men who justified the acts of Gov. Eyre had been sadly misled by the persistent misrepresentations to which the negro had been subjected, and that they thought of him as something approaching a gorilla. The following were the characteristics of the black man, according to the anti-negro books: He is indolent, ferocious, forever plotting to take possession of the land, and he cares for nothing but to sleep in the sun; he is utterly servile and inherently rebellious; he is a tiger, he is a hound, he has never accomplished anything, and he is the only man who can possibly labor on two millions of square miles in the Western hemisphere! Such were some of the astonishing results of modern plantation anthropology. The negro was no idler more than others to whom the lowest work and the poorest incentives were given. In the many years of his (the speaker's) life among them as the son of a Virginian negro-owner, he had never known nor heard of the laziness of a negro to whom a cabin for himself and his family had been promised or given. To promise this, or to promise freedom for himself or his child, were common incentives and were never failing. He had himself taken nearly one-half of his father's hundred slaves (liberated during the war), some of whom were indolent and all ignorant, into the centre of a free State, where he had told them that they must shift for themselves. Every one of these negroes had now secured a good name for industry; every child had been instructed in school; each family had a home; and not only had they had no aid from others in accomplishing all this, but they had offered to repay the trifle paid to take them to the Northwest. The massacre in Jamaica was an implication that treatment intolerable towards the lowest whites was normal and right towards blacks. If Gordon had been justly hanged, the gorilla theory should be organized, and Mr. Eyre sent back to Jamaica as governor. Mr. Eyre's immunity was a brand upon an entire race, and he ought to be prosecuted, not in a spirit of vengeance, but as the practical representative of a principle of negro government, which had been prolific of suffering for one and of corruption for the other race, and whose logical result was a return to slavery and the slave trade. There were no more shameful facts in history than the Southern laws against negro education, not even yet obliterated; and that declaration of Earl Grey, that from the time of emancipation until now the statute-book of Jamaica is a complete blank as far as concerns any provision for the welfare and elevation of the negro.

Mr. Conway concluded by hoping that the time was coming when sugar and dollars would not be weighed against men, however lowly.—*London Star.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN SPAIN.

THE London *Daily News*, in an article on this subject, says:

The action of the government has now to be seen. It can no longer dally with the question of emancipation. *The Abolitionist party in Spain has sprung into existence in a most marvellous manner.* Two years ago it had no existence. The "*Progressistas*" are unanimously in favor of emancipation, and until Narvaez stifled the press, upwards of eighty newspapers advocated it. The Spanish Anti-Slavery Society, of which Don Salustiano Olozaga is President, inaugurated only on the first of April last year, has held three numerously attended public meetings on the question, and numbers among its supporters the most eloquent orators in Spain, and some of the most distinguished members of the Cortez. The reign of terror has alone checked its progress; but sustained as it is and strengthened by the attitude which the colonial delegates have assumed, it would seem impossible that anything short of extinction by the iron hand can prevent the solution of the important question which it has been instrumental in raising.

Thus do great principles make their way.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1866.

CONGRESS.

CONGRESS has assembled again. Its first action gives good hope of a thorough and efficient policy. Its members show by their speeches and votes the influence of the elections on their courage and spirit of independence. We remember how often the prosecution of a war falls sadly below the high tone of its proclamation; and can calculate very accurately how far behind this defiant opening will lag the real action of members. Still we have gained ground. The treason of the Executive has been openly proclaimed and rebuked. Every measure proposed is one of *defence*, the defence of the loyal States against the man to whom, within two years, they intrusted the helm of State.

This is, in itself, somewhat of a pledge from the Republican party for a better session than the last. They confess that it is no longer patient waiting on the Executive which becomes them, but that the war between the White House and the Capitol is acknowledged. To get this confession is a great gain.

We rejoice at the earnestness with which members press the bill to secure the assembling of the Fortieth Congress next March. This and proper security for the loyal organization of the new House are vital measures. We called attention to the first as long ago as last September. The latter point—the recklessness of trusting the organization of the House so completely to the virtue of the former Clerk—we pointed out in the Summer of 1865, amid the jeers and insults of the whole American press. No thanks to them that Mr. McPherson proved an honest man. Honest or not, it was madness to trust so vital a point in our national defences to the virtue of any one man, whose fall would result in a step so fatal, so irreparable. The fate of this government, the question whether Southern rebels should dispute their right to seats in that House, while standing inside of it, or outside of it (a most important difference), rested wholly with one man, his decision irreversible, and he chosen not by the people, but, ostensibly, a subordinate officer, his election often a bargain between different factions of the House; the agent of a defunct body, responsible to no one.

Did ever sane men deliberately plan to run such a risk? We trust it will never be repeated. Grateful to Mr. McPherson that he stood the trial, honoring him for his loyalty, we hope our nation's fate will never be deliberately and purposely left to hang again on such a thread as one politician's self-denying uprightness.

We notice that several, indeed many, prominent members, both of the Senate and House, advocate the admission of Nebraska and Colorado, although both those new States have the treasonable word "white" in their Constitutions. The *Tribune*, we see, advocates their admission without even adverting to *this flagrant indorsement of rebellion* on the part of *States seeking admission* at such a moment as this into the Union. That any Territory should ask such admission while perpetuating this barbarous aristocracy, we regard as a deliberate insult to the nation. Of course, Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts is in favor of the plan. When any proposition is made, mean in itself, and dastardly in the time chosen for making it—a peddling exchange of the nation's honor *for the mere chance* of a mess of pottage—he naturally must be its master of ceremonies. This Senator seems to have brought into politics all of a Yankee peddler except his shrewdness. We trust the other Senator from Massachusetts will make as gallant a defence of justice and good policy as he did in the similar and less flagrant case of Louisiana, and with as brilliant success. In 1771 Burke won the hatred of Tories and Trimmers by exhausting the arsenal of parliamentary tactics in defence of the publicity of the Commons Debates. Our American Burke afforded an illustration of the same successful parliamentary tact in saving us from Louisiana two years ago. We trust he will exert himself as vigorously again. May he have the like success.

But these matters are prospective. The only one of pressing importance, the practical business of the hour, is the impeachment of the President, in order to his removal from office. No one step can be taken toward reconstruction till his influence in the government is ended. Till Northern ideas and capital can safely go to the South, reconstruction is not begun. Until such ideas have got, from some cause or quarter, sufficient strength and root to resist and nullify the influence of Southern white men, it is not safe to trust the rebel Territories with State governments. While Johnson stands a check to all loyal movements, and an encouragement and helper to all rebel hate and resistance, this process cannot even begin. Meanwhile commerce between the sections languishes—a loss and a temptation; partisan politics lifts its malicious head—men's ideas are confused and their enthusiasm chilled; the virtue of the nation, lifted by the war to a high level, lapses back to ordinary range. During the whole of its last session Congress did little but slattern away the time in trifling expedients; seemed indeed to try to do nothing except tide over to the elections. That excuse does not avail this Winter. The people demand business, expedition and decision. The South, like Cæsar, knows what it wants, and wants it with a will. Its leaders are men of convictions. They sincerely believe in their inhuman theories, and bring heart and soul to the support of them. Such men are not to be met by hucksters and peddlers, trimmers, butterflies and harlequins. You might as well attack Gibraltar with pop-guns charged with cologne water.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS has prepared a new lecture entitled "The Sources of Danger to the Republic," which he will give in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, before the Fraternity Association, on Monday evening next, and in Boston the following evening. The tickets of admission, without extra charge for reserved seats, are fifty cents, and may be obtained at S. Dyas & Co.'s, 246 Fulton st., Brooklyn. This lecture is said to be one of the ablest Mr. Douglass has ever prepared, and we need say nothing of his remarkable eloquence as a lecturer.

AN EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION for this city was held at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening, and during the day and evening of Friday, the 6th and 7th inst. The attendance was moderate, but the audiences were intelligent and appreciative. Susan B. Anthony presided, and addresses were delivered by Parker Pillsbury, C. L. Remond, Mrs. Stanton, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, H. B. Blackwell, Col. Moss of Missouri, F. D. Gage, Miss Bisbee of Boston, Rev. Olympia Brown, and others. Resolutions were adopted which we present elsewhere, also a Memorial to Congress from the pen of Parker Pillsbury, which we may print next week.

Similar Conventions, held with special reference to the forthcoming State Constitutional Convention, are now in progress in Central and Western New York.

THE SENATORSHIP.

ONE of the earliest, as it will be one of the most important duties of our Legislature, which will convene on the first of January, will be the election of a United States Senator to fill the place of Hon. Ira Harris, whose term will expire on the fourth of March. Always an important office, at this critical juncture in national affairs, it is a question of more than usual moment as to who shall be chosen to fill it for the next six years.

Mr. Greeley has been named perhaps more extensively than any one as the successor of Mr. Harris. He has also said he would accept the office if elected. Prior to his last manifesto, avowing his willingness to forego indefinitely the enfranchisement of the loyal blacks, for the sake of an early, compromising, dishonorable peace with the rebels of the South, his chances were good, even with another Senator (Morgan) already chosen from this stronghold of Democracy. He had almost the unanimous support of the New York press, including the *Herald*, which goes with the side generally expected to win. But the *Herald* has dropped Mr. Greeley as a candidate, and so also, we understand, have the managing Republicans of the State. Notorious for weakness and cowardice when he most needs to be strong and brave, and for his periodical attacks of the old Whig disease of compromise, in which he disgracefully betrays the principles with which his name has become popularly identified, we shall esteem it fortunate if this last lapse shall duly forewarn the Legislature and save us from entrusting Mr. Greeley with a Senatorship. It serves as a fresh and sufficient illustration of his unfitness for the place. His important and manly services, in many ways, to the cause of freedom, we are happy to acknowledge; but we do not regard him as the proper person to represent the Empire State in the Senate of the United States, in the critical period before us.

The office is claimed this time, and we think fairly, by the Republicans of Western and Central New York. Hon. Roscoe Conkling is mentioned as a candidate, and the one, we presume, most likely to be chosen. Mr. Conkling is an able and an influential representative of the average Radicalism of the party, and, as such, would be unflinchingly true to his constituents. He is badly mixed up with the Amendment swindle, as are even Mr. Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and all the leading Republicans in and out of Congress.

We know a gentleman, well known also in political circles, whose location in the State happens to be exactly right, who has probably done more than any man in the State to promote the cause of genuine Republicanism, who is justly distinguished at home and abroad as a patriot, a journalist and an orator, who is competent to fill with honor to himself and the State the position of Senator, and whose name is FREDERICK DOUGLASS. As an eligible candidate, available from locality and eminent personal fitness, we commend Mr. Douglass to the favorable consideration of the honorable gentlemen of the Legislature.

WE invite special attention to the letter of our Boston Correspondent this week. The facts which he brings to light with reference to the present status of the negro in Maryland and Virginia ought not to be overlooked by Abolitionists, or by members of Congress upon whom rests, in large degree, the responsibility for the present existence and the longer continuance of the barbarism of the slave system.

WE print in another column a letter from Louisiana from the pen of Miss HIGHGATE, of Syracuse, a young lady (colored) of fine talent, an earnest spirit, and one of the most efficient of the heroic and self-sacrificing teachers of the freed people at the South.

ON our first page this week will be found an effective and eloquent address by Hon. HENRY B. STANTON, of this city, delivered in National Hall, Philadelphia, before the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

PERSONAL.

Rev. Samuel J. May, says a Syracuse paper of last Saturday, "has been seriously ill since Monday, and will not be able to officiate in his church to-morrow (Sunday), which is to be closed morning and evening."

On a distinguished M. C.: Why is John Morrissey like Daniel Webster? Because he is the great expounder. Why is John Morrissey like a lamb? Because he gambles on the green. Why will John Morrissey be an influential member of the House? Because he's heavy on the eyes and nose.

Charles C. Burleigh is lecturing in Iowa with great acceptance on the state of the country. He spoke recently at Mount Pleasant, the residence of Joseph Dugdale, whose guest he was, and also held religious meetings in the Hicksite Friends' meeting-house of Mount Pleasant, and in the Orthodox Friends' meeting-house at Springdale.

John S. Rock, a colored lawyer, not long since admitted, on motion of Mr. Sumner, to the bar of the United States Supreme Court, died last week, at his home in Boston, of consumption. He was a well-educated man, and a good speaker and writer; and, when his health failed, he relinquished a large and growing practice.

Miss Bessie Bisbee, of Boston, a young lady of fine talent and pleasant address, has recently entered the lecture field with a promise of much future usefulness. She made her first address in the late Albany Convention, and was very kindly received as one of the speakers in the Equal Rights Convention held in this city last week.

Raphael Semmes, late of the rebel navy, has accepted the chair of Professor of Moral Philosophy and English Literature in the Louisiana State Seminary of learning at Alexandria.

The religious conversion of Thurlow Weed is reported, and also an awakening of religious interest in the mind of Hon. John Morrissey, Congressman elect.

Edward Everett's heirs lately received a letter addressed to him by a distinguished Texan, who had not heard of his death, begging Mr. Everett to write for him a eulogy on the Confederate dead, which he could deliver to audiences at fifty cents a head, and so make a living. The modest man did not desire an address more than two hours long, "full of chaste imagery, classical diction, and syntactical emphasis."

Bishop Colenso, of heretical notoriety, is in luck. The Trustees of the Colonian Bishopric Fund of Great Britain, refused to pay his salary, on account of his sceptical writings. He accordingly brought suit against them, and a decision has been rendered in his favor by the Master of the Rolls. The judgment was based on the fact that a contract existed, the questions of orthodoxy or heterodoxy not coming up.

Hon. Ichabod Washburn, Edward Earle, P. L. Moen, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, and other influential citizens of Worcester, have transmitted to Gov. Boutwell a petition asking the House of Representatives to institute immediate inquiry whether the conduct of Andrew Johnson, as Vice-President and President of the United States, has been such as to demand impeachment. Let the precedent be everywhere followed, impeachment petitions be promptly sent forward from every city and town, and this "King Andrew, the Usurper," already impeached by the American people, may be duly deposed.

A correspondent writing from Mount Pleasant, Iowa, says: "Anna E. Dickinson, during her recent Western lecturing tour, visited Iowa, and gave addresses to very large and delighted audiences. While in Mount Pleasant she was the guest of John and Mary Dugdale, and was called upon by many of the best citizens of the place. She spent the Sabbath with Joseph and Ruth Dugdale, attending the Friends' meeting with them in the country."

Anna E. Dickinson, we regret to hear, has been obliged, by severe illness, to cancel her Western lecturing engagements. From undue exposure, she was severely prostrated by pneumonia at Rockford, Ill.; but, we are happy to learn, is considered out of danger, and likely soon to be able to return to Philadelphia. We regret, both for her own sake and the cause of freedom and justice, which she so eloquently and effectively serves, that her labors must be even temporarily interrupted.

Bierstadt, the distinguished artist, was married, on the 21st ult., to Miss Rosalie Osborn of this city. Mr. Bierstadt has just erected at Irvington a residence costing $50,000, and commanding one of the finest views of the Hudson. It is really a studio with house attached. The studio is eighty feet in length, with walls thirty-four feet high, galleries for art studies, and lovely views from its windows. Mr. Bierstadt's "Storm in the Rocky Mountains" goes to the Exposition. He is now engaged upon a new piece, with mountains, plains and sunset glow, entitled "Emigrants Crossing the Plains." He has nearly completed a birds-eye view of Yosemite Valley—larger than any of his previous pictures.

Rev. Dr. Bacon preached an able discourse, on Sunday evening last, in the Chapel street church, New Haven, upon "The Unity of the Races." We find a report in the New Haven *Journal and Courier*, from which the following is an extract:

"The sense in which we say one man is equal to another, is that they are so in equity. There can be no such thing as equity or equalness, which is another name for equity, if we deny that all men are created free and equal. That underlies all the Christian gospel. God made all men free and equal, underlies all justice and all intercourse between nations. If, in the distresses of a party looking despairingly for a platform—if at a time when a dynasty is looking for an opportunity to stamp the oppressed with an iron heel, we give up the truth that all the diversified nations of mankind are one, and that they are free and equal, where are we? We have relapsed from the ideas of a Christian civilization to an era when there is no Christianity. We are so far towards barbarism. Let it be conceded because a man differs from others in feature, in complexion, or in some natural characteristics, that therefore they may rob him and may refuse him equal rights in the land in which he and they were born. What room is there for him to demand for himself any rights? If it is right to enslave him, to rob him, to take away from him the key of knowledge, and say he shall not learn, it is right to *kill* him, for he does not hold his life by any other tenure. If it is right to rob him, it is right to eat him—the right of cannibalism."

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT.

MR. GEORGE T. DOWNING, as Chairman of the Colored Delegation, has addressed a letter, which we print below, to Senator Morrill, in favor of suffrage, without educational or other qualifications, for the colored men of the District of Columbia. Mr. Downing, last Winter, spent most of his time, at a large personal sacrifice, in Washington, as a representative of the colored people in the "Third House," to press their claim for equality in Reconstruction, and in the legislation for the District. His influence, with that of his associates, Mr. Douglass and others, was unquestionably important with members of Congress, and upon the country. The wealthy colored people of this city, Philadelphia, and Boston, of *whom there are a sufficient* number, would do [illegible] *the cause of freedom* if they would institute such measures as would enable Mr. Downing, from this city, and some able and competent colored man from Charleston, or New Orleans, to spend the Winter again in Washington, as their special delegates, to watch over and favorably influence legislation.

LETTER TO SENATOR MORRILL.

NEW YORK, Dec. 10, 1866.

SENATOR MORRILL—*Dear Sir:* We desire that the franchise be extended in the District to its colored citizens, not only because it would be right, but for its moral influence otherwise.

If any condition whatever shall be annexed which shall have the practical effect of allowing one citizen to exercise the franchise and not another, it will destroy in part the effect we would have your act work. If it be right that one man be denied the right to vote because he cannot read, it is right that *all* men should be denied for the same reason. Particularly if they have had advantages for learning which the other has not—particularly if the authorities have not afforded common, equal, impartial, the needed facilities.

Too many in this State would gladly hail a condition in a bill for the District as a pretext (whether just or not) for some proscribing condition in this State's Constitution effecting colored men.

Yours, etc., GEO. T. DOWNING,
Chairman of the Colored Delegation.

TENNYSON AND EYRE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR: Can you spare room for a few lines on the announcement I am sorry to see in your columns, that Alfred Tennyson, our Poet-Laureate, has added his name to the list of those who seem to think that an English governor ought to be allowed to hang men and flog women—English subjects—whenever he is afraid of insurrection?

"WHERE freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent"—
Such words we read in years bygone;
Nor thought this broadening freedom meant
To fence a craven tyrant's throne,
And hold him murder-competent.

Freedom for Power! But for the slave
Not trial even, but sword and fire!
Intended rebel! let him have
The scourge and gallows, his desire
Counted as act; and o'er his grave
The slower poet time his lyre!

What precedent for Freedom's growth?
A man who rules in England's name
Is taken with a panic: loath
To own himself or blind or lame,
He blusters forth a brutal oath
And hastes with blood to cleanse his shame.

A precedent that all the years
Of English thriving, to protect
The lowest subject, vainest fears
Of Power may make of no effect.,
What matter negro blood and tears?
What matters English honor wreckt?

The precedent that Freedom gave
When Strafford pleaded innocence,
Has breadth to avenge and right the slave:
It broadens not to shield offence—
Though Tennyson on Milton's grave
Retain himself in Eyre's defence.

W. J. LINTON.

[Mr. Linton is the English gentleman whose recent arrival in this city we announced last week.—ED.]

A COLORED COMMERCIAL HOUSE.—Five colored gentlemen of this city are making arrangements to establish commercial relations between themselves and parties in certain cities in the South. They are led to the effort by the fact, that most of the labor that is performed, at least in the city they are in correspondence with, is performed by colored men, who have the common needs of life, who are draymen, hackmen, and the like, owning their own horses. These laborers have at present to purchase from those who have no respect for them, who would enslave them. They would establish business relations particularly with colored men, because of its probable elevating influence upon such as a class. We hope that this enterprise will have the sympathy of a liberal commercial community.

THE THIRTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends,—the friends of the negro and of universal liberty,—that the thirty-third Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, Boston, on Thursday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the Union, has been ratified, still the rights of the negro race are in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this Winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this Winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race,—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges,—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash*, in the hands of *irresponsible masters*. This stamps the system as a substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction, urged by the Administration, leaves the black still a slave. The Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress are a deliberate desertion of the Negro and surrender him defenceless into the hands of his old masters. These Amendments break the National pledge to our black allies, and if accepted by the States would jeopard the safety of the Union and make Emancipation for many years to come a form. It is still, unfortunately, true that, with a few illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land, ballot, and education to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, and means of education in his reach, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral, from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists,—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise, or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions to any member of the Committee.

LUCRETIA MOTT, Pennsylvania.
LIDIAN EMERSON, Concord, Mass.
MARY M. BROOKS, " "
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, Boston, Mass.
LYDIA D. PARKER, " "
CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN, " "
ELIZA APTHORP, Cambridge, "
MARY E. STEARNS, Medford, "
ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, Boston, "
ANNA SHAW GREENE, " "
EMELINE T. SMITH, " "
ADALINE R. HEPWORTH, " "
CAROLINE C. THAYER, " "
MARY E. SARGENT, " "
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Worcester, Mass.
MARTHA LE BARRON GODDARD, Worcester, Mass.
ANNA D. HALLOWELL, Boston, "
ABBY H. STEPHENSON, " "
CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, Boston, "
JENNIE G. GREENE, Milton, "
HANNAH B. SPOONER, Plymouth, "
CAROLINE R. PUTNAM, Salem, "
SARAH BRADFORD, Roxbury, "
REBECCA BRADFORD, " "
SARAH P. REMOND, England.
SARAH J. NOWELL, Cambridgeport, Mass.
RUTH BUFFUM, Lynn, "
EVELINA E. SLACK, Boston, "
ELIZABETH B. CHASE, Rhode Island.
MATTIE GRIFFITH, New York, and others.

[We shall complete the list of signers next week.]

WE have received from Massachusetts the following petition designed for general circulation in that State. It is an excellent petition, and we heartily commend it for general circulation by the friends of freedom in other States:

PETITION

TO THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Your petitioners, the undersigned loyal citizens of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully pray your Honorable Body not to ratify the proposed Constitutional Amendment. Our reason for this Petition is the danger to the liberties of the people from conceding to any State (as is done in the 2d Section of the proposed Amendment) the right or possibility of denying to any class of its loyal citizens the inherent right of the elective franchise. And your petitioners implore that the honor of Massachusetts may not be tarnished by a Legislative vote to admit into the Constitution of the United States a clause fraught with such injustice and danger to the inalienable rights of the people.

LETTER FROM LOUISIANA.

MR. EDITOR: "To ask and bestow knowledge, is much of heaven's delight." Believing that few if any readers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD have ever visited this sterile spot in the extreme interior of Louisiana, may we not act as informant? The land here is higher than most other portions of this swampy State, and admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton and corn. Before the war, sugar was the chief staple; but the raising of that production being attended with so much difficulty, the freedmen prefer to contract for cotton, and as "labor is king" now, sugar is neglected. Cotton sells here at forty-five cents a pound, and by Christmas the planters confidently expect fifty cents. Scarcity of hands, a very wet season and the catterpillers have combined to make this year's crop a small one—yet the freedmen have labored better than the slaves used to do five years ago. To see the anxiety of these freedmen to accumulate cannot fail to obtain for them a reputation for thriftiness. All one's ideas of Sabbath-breaking are met with contradiction—for the field-hands claim their right to spend Sunday in cultivating little patches of ground which they have hired, in order that they may "lay by something for next year." It is in vain to tell them they ought to rest the body, and appropriate at least that day for soul-culture. They say, "We have no house over our heads; we live on the planter's ground, in his huts, and we want to get horses, cows, land, cotton, and a home of our own. We must get a start; then we will be glad to keep Sunday." When we reflect that the whole Christian world is looking at this experiment, is it not almost Godlike to keep our enemies from emblazoning the word "FAILURE" over it? All religious sentiment here is Catholic. One is readily made to concur with Macaulay when he said, "The loveliest and most fertile provinces in Europe have, under the Church of Rome's rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual stupor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes, statesmen, philosophers and poets." Add to this deteriorating influence that of slavery, and you have an idea of the dearth of this region. In the one little church here, all benches, which, because of their proximity to the door, were conveniently appropriated to colored people, have been removed—so now if they go, they must usually stand up. This is all overruled for good—for it is better for these oppressed ones to be out in the grand oak forests with God's great blue heavens over them, and his lessons about them, even if they be too dumb to comprehend them; for, understood or not, there is much that is actually spiritualizing in pure country air. The idea of freedom in its most practical sense is appreciated here by the more intelligent, and they look forward to things being better for them in the "by and by," when they can read and write, and understand figures. Some others believe what their craven-hearted former would-be owners have instilled into their minds, that "by and by" the Freedmen's Bureau will be gone; then they will have their old power. That degraded class are impervious to American influences, being unable to understand anything but bad French. But in spite of everything these freed ones pour in to the school. The children walk in many miles from the plantations to day-schools—the adults to night school, and in defiance of the old priest, they come to Sabbath school. The planters, when they made their yearly contract with the field-hands, agreed to pay a five per cent. tax for the education of these freed children. Their loose sense of honor makes some of them very delinquent in this matter. We hope much, but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that when the Bureau becomes defunct, that it will not be well with the class whom it now protects. There are many loud threats now against the Freedmen's School. These rebels have sworn to burn it up in less than a month; but a Glorious Power has staid their hand. They have openly affirmed if the teacher ventures out of the town, that they will fix her so she can't teach. Yet when duty sustained us, we have mounted horse and gone seven miles across these prairies unharmed. Not but what there is mean force enough, and no strong man's protective arm, but "woman's strong trust" can keep them at bay a while at least. The remnant of a party of sixty men who three years ago dogged the steps of men who were suspected of loyalty, and when at a safe distance from home, flogged them as they would their slaves; men who burned to the ground the houses of loyalists, and who severely scourged colored men who had dealings with slaves, still live here, and their purposes are the same. We need Northern men in this region. Land is cheap and unparalleled in its productiveness. These forests abound in oak trees and black walnut trees. Cows are sold for six and ten dollars a piece. Horses are very cheap. There is no reason why energy and principle, with small capital, might not make this portion of the country a blessing to America. If Crusaders went on long pilgrimages to the Holy Land to the tomb of the Saviour, certainly some quiet, large-hearted philanthropists might take this five day's journey to where His images live under the great pall of ignorance and superstition. E. G. HIGHGATE.

Vermillionville, Lafayette Parish, La., Nov. 8, 1866.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, December 10th, 1866.

THE subject of last week's Parker Fraternity lecture, was "Samuel Adams," and Rev. J. Manning, the lecturer, seemed fully inspired by the spirit of his subject. Mr. Manning always makes his lectures practical; and the strain of thought in this one sheds such light upon the duties of the present hour, that it were to be wished that every legislator in the land, and every voter too, could hear it. The lecturer said, as Theodore Parker always said, that Samuel Adams was, more than any other man, the inspiring cause of the American revolution. His vigilance never slept, his influence upon others constantly urged them in the right direction, and his personal action was never wanting when a pressing emergency seemed to find no other leader. Among the lessons given to our time by his revolutionary career were said to be the following: the *adequate* policy is the [illegible] *passed*; *the* men now pleading for equality of rights are our wisest and safest leaders; the Constitution is now to be interpreted not by the voice of dead slavery, but by that of living freedom; faithfulness to sound principles is what now commands the respect of men, and Sumner need not be President, and Phillips need not go to Congress, to gain the height of national renown.

Referring to the fact that we often imperfectly realize the significance and weighty consequences of the actions of our contemporaries, Mr. Manning said we ought to understand that the politicians now laboring for a reconstruction which will leave freedom and equality of rights unprovided for, are no common or easily pardonable offenders, but the Hutchinsons, the Olivers, the Benedict Arnolds of the present time.

In alluding to the eminent services of Washington and Lincoln to the nation at critical periods, Mr. Manning said that in devotion to liberty, Samuel Adams was "the peer" of those illustrious men. It seems to me that, in practical devotion to liberty, he was no their peer, but their superior, a model whose high example they ought to have followed, but failed to follow. Adams claimed the right of blacks as well as whites to be always and everywhere free. He opposed slavery always and everywhere; Washington and Lincoln yielded to the pressure of circumstances and gave it partial toleration. Washington would probably have emancipated his slaves during his lifetime but for the influence of his wife. Adams decided at once, without consulting his wife, that a slave who came into his family, by that act became free. It is precisely this decision, this energy, this inflexibility, that our public men need now to imitate. If Lincoln had decreed a universal instead of a partial emancipation—if he had taken this step promptly and joyfully instead of timidly and after long delays—if he had triumphed in the opportunity of doing this act of justice instead of cautiously excusing it on the plea of military necessity—and if these acts had been followed up by Presidential maintenance of the *rights* of the blacks, positively as men, soldiers and citizens, and relatively as an aggrieved class whose claims against the rebels needed special and emphatic enforcement by the Administration—our victory would long since have been entire instead of partial, and Abraham Lincoln would have been, in devotion to liberty, the peer of Samuel Adams.

The Democratic press are constantly crying out that things may safely be left as they are, and stigmatizing the efforts of the friends of freedom as excessive and unjustifiable radicalism; and yet every mail brings us additional specimens of the persistent effort at the South to keep up separate codes, both of law and custom, for the government of colored people. The following hand-bill has just been sent here from the capitol of Maryland:

"PUBLIC SALE.

"The undersigned will sell, at the Court House, in the city of Annapolis, at 12 o'clock, m., on Saturday, 8th December, 1866, a negro man named Richard Harris, for six months, convicted at the October term of the Anne Arundel Co. Circuit Court for larceny, and sentenced by the Court to be sold as a slave. Terms cash. WILLIAM BRYAN,
Sheriff Anne Arundel County."

Again, we learn that at Lexington, Va., a few days ago, one of Gen. Lee's pupils shot and killed a respectable black man of that town. On his examination he stated that the negro had insulted him, and this statement was corroborated by the spectators of the occurrence: whereupon the Virginian Judge made the following points in his decision: That the laws of Virginia have always recognized the difference between the white man and the black; that a white man may protect himself from negro insults, and that, *though the deed was clearly proved*, it was the result of the insult, and he should discharge the defendant from custody.

In a state of things like that revealed by these two incidents, to allow the Southern States to reassume their former powers, is to insure the continuance of customs, manners and morals like those which formerly prevailed in the South; not permanently, indeed; that black code can never again continue as a settled code in this country—but until reformers stir the nation to a new effort for justice. There can be no peace here, no quietness, no return to an undisturbed routine of business, until National and State affairs are so regulated that the *conscience* of the nation can be satisfied with them. Why not arrange it thus now? Let the victorious North insist upon a *right* settlement of this con-

test, reaffirming human rights, and enacting them into permanent laws. Any other decision will be but the adjournment to another day, not a close, of the contest now in progress. NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, December 9, 1866.

THE Philadelphia Temperance Society proposes to hold a series of meetings this Winter in different parts of our city. They will be held weekly. It is desired to awaken fresh and active interest in the cause of temperance, which can never be neglected without detriment to the welfare of society. Effective exertions are to be made towards counteracting the great and growing evils of intemperance. To-day there is as much need for such action as ever there was, for on every hand we have painful evidence that the power of this terrible curse is increasing. Perpetually it is widening its insinuating grasp, and multiplying the number of its victims. In manifold alluring forms it dazzles the youthful eye, environs the youthful pathway, and everywhere young men are becoming more and more vitiated by its lamentable influence. There is scarcely an avenue of social energy that is not contaminated by its encroachment. It is an evil that has grown in magnitude, still increases, and ought to be abated. But it is too much to hope that it will ever be eradicated.

It is good to see increased attention given to this work, and to witness the organizations for promoting temperance investing themselves with new life. It is essential that they become aggressive. They should invade the enemy's precincts, and make him conscious of their force, and fearful of their determination. They should beat him back in his bold and insolent attempts to defy existing statutes. They should gather new strength and fresh authority through legislative help, and aim to give efficient blows at that one root of this gigantic evil, the support and recognition it receives from our laws. The entire community should be made to feel, as with the keen edge of a cutting conscience, their responsibility in this matter, and be animated by a sense of duty that shall rouse them from their lethargy.

No cause flourishes well without the aid of money. However good, however worthy, noble or beneficent a movement may be, it cannot prosper save by the grace of cash. This is the quiet agent that awakens the forces which become tributary to its success. It is this potential element that gives effect to the devoted energies, and strength to the feeble arm.

Even such a noble cause as that which so long engaged the attention of Abolitionists, the overthrow of slavery, has acknowledged the necessity and convenience of money. What varied pictures cluster around our memory of the oft-repeated Anti-Slavery Fairs! They were a sort of annual festival, devised for the purpose of procuring the ways and means whereby to aid in promoting the liberation of the bondman. There were collected the miscellaneous treasures that labor inscribed to principle, and there year after year, met together the friends of the just cause, in mutual greeting and in common sympathy, to testify their devotion to the work, and pledge themselves anew to their grand undertaking.

The bondman needs further liberation, and the same good cause requires extended facilities for its better promotion. It is proposed to hold a festival here some time next month, which may be a source of revenue to help the work on towards its consummation. It is designed to give one evening to this laudable and joyous enterprise, when there may be a grand ingathering of all our friends, and all others who desire to mingle with them, and participate in the genial entertainment. The occasion will be one of rare interest to young and old, combining all the varied attractions of an evening's festivity. Should the project be fulfilled it is hoped that all the old and all the new friends of freedom's cause may give hand and heart to the proceeding, that it may overflow with success.

Much apprehension has been felt here among the friends of Anna E. Dickinson, who is ill at Rockford in Illinois. The latest accounts concerning her condition are such as to remove anxiety, and it is hoped she may soon recover. She has necessarily been obliged to relinquish numerous engagements in the West, which must occasion no less regret to herself than to those who are deprived of the opportunity of listening to her eloquent voice. W.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1866.

NOTWITHSTANDING Congress—the House, particularly—manifested an excellent and significant temper upon the great question of reconstruction during the first week of its session, there is nothing very hopeful for the future, as I view it. There is but one road to a certain, *peaceable* and permanent adjustment of our national difficulties, viz: the impeachment and deposition of the President. *Now*, that grave step could be taken by Congress with the acquiescence, if not the active support, of nine-tenths of the Northern people. That once done, and not a breath of resistance or revolution would thereafter be heard, South or North, to the supremacy of the loyal North, and the thorough moulding of the South in the ways of intelligence and rational freedom would be rapid and satisfactory. But there is not the ghost of a chance of this work being undertaken by the Thirty-ninth Congress. Many a member who believes that this should be done, and expresses the gravest apprehensions of the future, if it is neglected, hesitates to apply this radical remedy because, as alleged, the country is either opposed to it or sluggishly indifferent. Some say it would provoke forcible resistance on the part of Mr. Johnson—a most powerful reason in itself for the proposed step—for if a measure so undisputably constitutional and so imperatively called for by the commission of the gravest "misdemeanors" on the part of the President, cannot be exercised by the people's representatives without civil war, then it is high time we had another war to settle once for all whether the loyal people shall rule or whether the successor of Jefferson Davis shall wield the whole power of the Executive branch of this government for the benefit of the rebels who were supposed to have surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House.

This Presidential usurper is preparing to let loose upon the country the Pandora's box of evils and plagues of a foreign war. Only Mr. Seward's notorious cowardice and shuffling diplomacy has thus far saved us from a war with France. Enough is known here to warrant the assertion that the President was desirous of an embroilment in that quarter. The arrest of Ortega and the sending of Gen. Sherman to the "vicinity of Mexico," and the recent capture of Matamoras by Sedgwick, are simply evidences of a purpose that has been overruled by some, as yet, inexplicable influences.

A war with England is the favorite measure with the whole copperhead and rebel gang which now possesses the ear of the Administration. The key to the extraordinary attitude of the London *Times* in reference to the Alabama claims is to be found in the knowledge which the English government possesses relative to the complicity of Mr. Johnson's Administration with the proposed Fenian insurrection in Ireland. England's danger is ours, as well as Ireland's opportunity, and when Earl Derby shall have his hands full of Irish rebels and English reformers, as he will very shortly, if all the signs do not fail, look out for a sudden, peremptory, offensive demand for a full and speedy settlement of the piracies committed by Professor of Moral Philosophy Semmes! Stephens has unquestionably returned to Ireland, but John Mitchel, who has represented him at Paris, is now located at Richmond, Va., having had an interview with "Head Centre Johnson" *en passant*.

Just now, these are the only real dangers looming up in our political horizon. Congress cannot so tie the President hands as to prevent him from embroiling us in a foreign war, if he be determined upon it; and our "honor" once involved it could not refuse the supplies of men and money to wage it. And such a war must inevitably postpone, if not endanger altogether, the just solution of our domestic problems. With the country engaged in a foreign war, and a treacherous President wielding its terrible machinery, what disasters to the good cause might not ensue, especially in a Presidential election?

As I have said, there is only one measure of absolute safety, and that lies in impeachment,—*now*. But it will not be done, and we are helplessly drifting into difficulties and dangers whereof no man can prophesy the end,

Mr. Broomall's resolution, instructing the Committee on Territories to inquire what legislation is necessary "in the districts of country formerly known as the State of Virginia," etc., etc., which passed by 107 votes—Mr. Raymond being the only Republican (!) voting with the copperheads—is a significant indication of what the House means to do. As for the Senate, I am not able to advise you of its disposition. A few of the Republican Senators are crotchety and unreliable, and afflicted more or less with Mr. Greeley's "conservatism;" but I have hopes that it will, on the whole, after the holidays, come tolerably up to the mark. I think it will give us universal suffrage in the District this week, and I think you may prepare to see a Delegate to Congress from this District, elected by the help of negro votes, take his seat in the next House, on the 5th of March.

The Committee which has in charge the measure providing for the commencing of the sessions of Congress on the 5th of March are hard at work perfecting its details, and it will be promptly passed.

The copperhead papers here are chuckling over the announcement that a majority—five against four—of the judges of the Supreme Court have declared the test oath unconstitutional, the decision to be made public to-day. I am not surprised. The old pro-slavery spirit dies hard.

It is reported here that Mr. Seward called at Thaddeus Stevens's rooms the other night, and had a long interview with him. What it means no one seems to know. I confess I would have sacrificed something to have been an eye and ear witness of all that passed then and there.

Speaking of Mr. Stevens, I think he is losing prestige and power by indulging in undignified and ill-timed exhibitions of spite against the President. His almost successful attempt to postpone the reading of the Message was unworthy of the great leader of the House. And in numerous other instances he has let himself down from the position of a statesman to indulge in personalities which would more befit the lips of Mr. Johnson. Better hold his peace than follow such an example. OBSERVER.

WHAT WILL CONGRESS DO?

"GOD grant the whole South may throw this Constitutional Amendment back with scorn into our Northern faces, that we may be justified in blessing them with a more deep and earnest blessing."

So prayed a friend before the elections, and his prayer seems likely to be answered, as far, at least, as the South is concerned; but whether the "blessing" invoked will follow, depends altogether upon the courage and backbone of the Fortieth Congress. They may be stung by the insult into doing something Radical; certainly, the action of the South in spoiling the Amendment, is a most just and merited rebuke to the doughfaces who planned it. The South is exactly in the position of a criminal too great to be punished by law; and as a scamp of quality, having made away with many valuable effects belonging to the "late Union," offers now to condole with the North, by keeping the said effects, and claiming the Constitutional right of undisturbed possession! "No Compromise," shouts the South. No amendments, no change in the organic law, without our consent. We insist that the Constitution shall remain unchanged, and that our relation to you and to the government shall be precisely what it was before the war—chattel slavery left out." Even Mr. Johnson, they say, affects to regard the recent popular verdict as no proof that the people are against him, or against his policy, and that he will "bide his time" for revenge on the Republican party. Nobody believes that he will be impeached by that party which has had its nose pulled (metaphorically) so often by the imitator of Andrew Jackson.

The President now is advised by his own organs to be very mild on Congress, and to seek for glory in the old trade of Democratic filibustering enterprise. The *World* thinks that the Monroe Doctrine would find a fit exponent in Andrew Johnson. What a shabby trick to make the American people forget the moral of the late elections! There is one comfort, however. Not all the levers of government power and patronage were able to raise into dignity and decency that decaying mass of political putrescence known as the Democratic party. *It is a species of* dead dog-ism that has had its day. As the old Advertiser says, referring to that party's idea of nailing "Impartial Suffrage" to its mast head in future conflicts, "There is a point beyond which *salt is not able to save.*" The impolicy of Republicans in not adopting it has been sternly pointed out in the case of Maryland. "I am glad of it and may they always be defeated as long as they withhold it"—is the saying and the sentiment of all Radicals on that subject. They say that even a toad bitten by a rattlesnake knows enough to apply to a leaf of the plant which is an antidote. But Republicans who know, will not resort to the only antidote for the poison of a rebel vote,—they will not see that the Republic is safe only under the leaves of the plantain of Universal Suffrage.

Yours, etc., RECONSTRUCTION.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

THE following resolutions were adopted by the Convention held in this city at the Cooper Institute last week:

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, Seven out of every twelve adult American citizens, a majority of the whole number, are now excluded from the polls on the ground of sex and race; and whereas "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and "taxation without representation is tyranny;" therefore,

Resolved, That, in a representative government, professedly based upon consent, every citizen, man or woman, white or black, being of mature age and sound mind, and not legally convicted of crime, is rightfully entitled to a vote; and, in behalf of the disfranchised majority of the American people, we demand that they may be allowed to participate in State and National elections.

Resolved, That the ballot, alike to the woman and the negro, means bread, education, intelligence, self-protection, self-reliance and self-respect. To the daughter it means industrial freedom and diversified employment; to the wife it means the control of her own person, property and earnings; to the mother it means the equal legal right to her children; to all it means social equality, colleges and professions open, profitable business, skilled labor, and intellectual development.

Resolved, That Congress and Legislatures reflect, like mirrors, the character of their electors, and therefore especially we need in American politics the direct, responsible influence of the virtuous, educated, intelligent women and of the loyal negroes of America.

Whereas the State Constitution must originate with and be assented to by a majority of the people, including as well those whom it disfranchises as those whom it invests with suffrage; and, whereas there is nothing in the present Constitution of the State of New York to prevent women from voting for or being elected as delegates to the Convention about to assemble to revise and amend the Constitution of the State; therefore,

Resolved, That we recommend to the people that they elect their delegates to said Convention, irrespective of sex or complexion; and we call upon the Legislature to enact that women as well as men shall be admitted to vote for such delegates.

OBITUARY.

TWO GOOD MEN IN TENNESSEE GONE.

JERRY STOTHARD, Esq., was one; Rev. RANSOM HARRIS is the other. They were both old and esteemed citizens of Nashville.

Mr. Stothard died on the 17th of September, 1866, about fifty years of age, of cholera, after an illness of three or four days of much suffering. He was a prominent citizen, a high-toned, dignified gentleman, and was well known in Tennessee. His mild temper, generosity and benevolence were subjects of remark among all who knew him, and in no place was he more highly esteemed than in his native home for his many good deeds towards his fellow-man. He was one of the foremost men of Nashville for everything that would aid in the elevation of his race, and an advocate of equal rights before the law. His place cannot be easily filled among his fellow-citizens. He leaves a very interesting family to mourn his loss—a wife and five or six promising children. His bereaved family and relatives have the heart-felt sympathies and condolence of a large community.

Rev. Ransom Harris died on the 1st of November, in the 35th year of his age. He was born in McLemoresville, Carroll county, Tennessee, and came to Nashville, when a small boy, with his brother, Rev. George W. Harris. He was early deprived of the fostering care which flows from parental solicitude and affection by slavery; consequently he had his own row to weed through life. He was a very pious boy, and commenced to attend Sunday-school regularly every Sabbath, and would learn at night, pursuing his studies with such diligence and zeal, even at that early period, as to furnish strong intimations of his future eminence. At an early age he united himself with the Christian Church, soon became a very useful member, and very soon afterwards commenced to preach the Gospel of Christ, and was so successful in his attempts as to enjoy the confidence and admiration of his brother members. He was assistant pastor of the Second Christian Church of Nashville for several years, and afterwards became the pastor of the church. If Ransom Harris had only been an educated man, he would have been one of the most powerful colored men in the Southwest. As it was, he could easily command attention when others would fail. He had no enemies; he was a simple, peaceful, truthful, and Christian gentleman. As a preacher, he knew well concerning God's kingdom. A powerful minister of the New Testament, he was apt in selection and rich in thought. As a citizen, he was one that would do more than many other men of his race. He was a gentleman of dignified and courteous bearing, knew well how to appreciate the elegance of refined society. A man on whom he had bestowed his friendship he never abandoned without the most unequivocal proof of his unworthiness, nor gave heed to any light insinuations against him. He leaves a daughter, a brother, and some other near relations to mourn his loss, besides his church, who loved him.

The city of Nashville has lost two worthy citizens, Jerry Stothard and Ransom Harris—two among the truest, the kindest, and the best citizens we had. They have both gone to try a world unknown to us. "No man liveth to himself or dieth to himself; live or die, we are the Lord's. The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh; blessed be the name of the Lord." COM.

November 8, 1866.

LITERARY.

The *London Quarterly* for October (The Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 38 Walker street, New York) has the following table of contents: Ancient Literature of France; Dr. Badham and the Dutch School of Criticism; Homes without Hands; Life of our Lord; History of Architecture; Central Asia; Operations of Modern Warfare; and England and her Institutions.

The *Radical* for December (Adams & Co., 21 Bromfield street, Boston) contains A Year after the Massacre of Jamaica, by M. D. Conway; My Lord and My God: The True Divine in the Constitution of Christianity, by Edward C. Towne; Organization, by Frances E. Abbott; Times and Seasons, by C. K. Whipple; Christmas Lay, by George S. Burleigh; The Religious Condition of the West, by F. B. Harrison; Social Science Meeting at New Haven, by F. B. Sanborn, and other valuable articles. Subscriptions for the *Radical* and the STANDARD, five dollars per year for the two, received at this office.

The *Edinburgh Review* for October (The Leonard Scott Publishing Company 38 Walker Street) contains: Kaye's History of the Sepoy War; Varieties of History and Art; International Coinage; Napoleon's Julius Cæsar; Felix Holt, the Radical; Strauss, Renan, and "Ecce Homo;" Froude's Reign of Elizabeth; Antique Gems; and The Military Growth of Prussia.

Littell's Living Age, No. 1176 (Littell, Son & Co., Boston), presents, among other interesting articles, the following: Imagination and Conduct, from the *Saturday Review*; Old-Fashioned Sins, by Mrs. Norton; Victor Emmanuel and Venice, from the *London Review*; Mr. Seward and the Fenian Convicts, from the *Spectator*; The Fall of the Leaves, from the *London Review*; Nooks and Corners of English Life, from the *Examiner*; Home at Last; and Christmas Bells.

A new weekly journal is about to be issued in this city to be called the *Liberal Christian*. It is to be a double sheet of about the size of THE STANDARD. It will take the place of the *Christian Inquirer*, which it is to succeed, and will represent liberal Unitarians and Universalists, and independent thinkers of no denominational connection. There is a promising field for such a journal well conducted, as it is said this will be.

Harper & Brothers are about to publish Rev. Dr. Osgood's "American Leaves; Familiar Notes of Thoughts and Life." The subjects discussed are as follows: Little Children; Our Old Pew; School Influences; American Boys; American Girls; Fortune; The Flag at Home; Learning Statesmanship; Off-hand Speaking; Art among the People; American Nerves; The Ethics of Love; Garden Philosophy; Easter Flowers; Towards Sunset. The book will be issued in season for Christmas, and is intended to be an American book of substantial thought and cheerful temper for the home-circle, with especial reference to the interests of children.

The first number of a weekly journal entitled *Country Words, a North of England Magazine of Literature, Science and Art*, has appeared at Manchester. It is of the size of *Chambers's Journal*, and the price is two pence. Among the contributors are Eliza Cook, Benjamin Brierly, Edwin Waugh, Tom Hood and Leo H. Grindon. The list of writers who have promised to contribute includes the names of William Howitt, Mary Howitt, R. A. Arnold, author of the "History of the Cotton Famine," John Baxter Langley, and J. Lewins, author of "Her Majesty's Mails."

The (London) *Spectator* says—

"There seems to be no doubt that though English officers, naval and military, may hang negroes with impunity, they may not with impunity act like snobs. Lieut. Brand, R.N., who was the President of the Morant Bay Court-Martial, has, it appears, written two very vulgar and "larky" letters to Mr. C. Buxton, M.P. for East Surrey, venturing on a challenge to fight, sundry oaths, and various pieces of that delightful slang in which gun-rooms used to be rather strong. Mr. Buxton's reply was very happy and also generous—for he gave the silly young man the chance of apologizing before publishing them. But the remarkable thing is the very prompt and strong action of the Admiralty upon them. The Ministerial papers yesterday morning were "authorized to state" that Commodore McClintock is to receive a copy of these letters immediately, and if Lieut. Brand is unable to deny their authenticity, he is to be immediately suspended and sent to England, as guilty of conduct inconsistent with the character of an officer and a gentleman—which reckless hanging of negroes of course is not."

The same paper, in an article entitled "Dr. Mary Walker," after maintaining the right of that lady to dress as she pleases, proceeds thus:

"Precisely the same argument applies to the doctorate. Any woman who feels that physic is the true profession of her life, or surgery, or chemistry, has an absolute right to learn and follow that profession, and any rule, or law, or etiquette, or social obligation which prevents her, is a tyranny, an undue interference of the majority with the rights of the minority. There are women in the world whom God made to be physicians, to whom nothing save calm, incessant, scientific battle with physical and visible misery can ever give adequate scope, either for their energies or their love of humanity. Let them follow their career in all freedom, and amid all reverence. We do give them all reverence for it when our hearts are stirred, as in the Crimean war, or still more in the Indian mutiny, when the great European hospitals were really served by ladies—women who thought fanning themselves a fatigue, waiting on sorely wounded men for hours and days together, and performing offices from which even trained nurses shrink. Only we refuse the reverence when the need is less immediate, because then men allow a wretched conventionalism to get the better alike of instinct—which dictates female nurses—and of reason, which in all things lawful gives every human being liberty."

LETTERS for Susan B. Anthony should be addressed hereafter to 464 West 34th st., New York.

THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 Nassau street, New York, will supply THE STANDARD to news dealers and others in or out of the city.

TO GEORGE THOMPSON.

'Mong her jewels Memory counts,
The golden hour I passed,
Where its charm thine eloquence
Its spell thy presence cast.

I, from out a blighted tree,
A fresh rose fain would bring,
With voice that shakes with tears, to thee
My tribute-song would sing—

One all worthy friendship's vow,
Even from lips like thine,
One whose dear name I dare not braid
In poor, wild wreaths of mine.

Long since spoke thy name to me
With friendship's tribute meet,
Poet lips, whose utterance makes
All sweetness doubly sweet!

He was with thee when the mob
With insult, yell and threat,
'Gainst your small, devoted band,
Its face of murder set.

Night came: one among ye, worn,
While that tumult round ye swept,
Laid him down, as in God's arms,
And 'mid those horrors slept!

Shook the mob your fortress frail
With threats and curses deep;
Heaven's long rest seemed then so near
The worn one could not sleep!

Ah! the weary slave that night,
Ere with numbed limbs he lay
On his poor earth-floor, well bethought
For such as ye to pray!

Not in vain, then, where to-day
Its half-built temple stands,
The corner-stone of liberty
Ye laid with bleeding hands.

Still, in spite of Treason's band,
Ye'll build that glorious wall,
And bring with shouts the top-stone forth
Of *Equal Rights to All.*

* * * * * *

England claims thee; o'er the sea,
Her true hearts shrine thy fame;
But, prithee, bid Old England's right
Yield to New England's claim.

Yet, like our own GARRISON,
Where'er a flag's unfurled
To guard the rights of man, 'tis thine—
Thy "country is the world!"

Broad thy sympathies and free—
Electric currents—run
Where'er hearts beat for liberty,
Where'er brave deeds are done!

Boston, 1866. K. C.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Contributions and Pledges to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Mary Grew	$20 00
Edward M. and Maria M. Davis	50 00
Robert Purvis	5 00
Joseph Lewis, Jr.,	2 00
Hicks Corson	1 25
M. H. Atkinson	2 00
Susan Kimber	5 00
Reuben Winslow	10 00
Letitia Hawes	2 00
Thomas Atkinson	3 00
Cash	25
Jane B. Twining	1 00
Thomas B. Twining	3 00
Cash	50
E. Clendenon	1 10
Jesse G. Webster	2 00
Sarah Rogers	3 00
E. Hicks Corson, Plymouth	5 00
Edwin H. Coates, Philadelphia	1 00
Passmore Williamson	5 10
Jonathan Paxson, Bristol	1 00
Michael Sterling, Wilmington, Del.	1 50
Charles Hambleton, Chester Co.	5 00
Levi Coates, Lancaster	5 00
S. Wood, Doe Run, Chester Co., Pa.	4 10
B. L. Wood, Doe Run, Chester Co., Pa.	1 00
Hannah Britton Carter	1 00
Isabel M. Jones, Philadelphia	25
N. A. Randolph, Chadd's Ford	15
Smith Bowen, Philadelphia	5 00
G. M. S. P. Jones, Philadelphia	2 00
S. T. Bines	10 00
A Friend in New Jersey	5 00
Aaron Kirk, Horsham, Montgomery Co., Pa.	2 00
A. L. Pennock, Darby	20 00
C. Neidhardt, M.D., Philadelphia	3 00
Rev. Robert Collyer, Chicago	5 00
Jacob Zorn, M.D., Philadelphia	10 00
James M. Bustill	3 00
Maryanna Pellum Mott, Philadelphia	5 00
Thomas Garrett, Wilmington, Del.	5 00
A. & M. Pugh, Oxford	1 00
A. B. Justice, Philadelphia	5 00
Mary E. Parry	3 00
Joshua Pierce, Tidionte, Pa.	20 00
M. Richards, Wilmington, Del.	10 00
J. William Thorn, Chester Co., Pa.	2 00
Charles Tease, Horsham, Montgomery Co., Pa.	5 00
George Keim	1 00
Mary and Rachel Pickering, Newtown	1 00
From a Friend	5 00
Henry C. Davis, Philadelphia	10 00
Josiah Lewis	1 00
Calvin Phillips, Philadelphia	5 00
A. P. Ketchum, Washington, D. C.	10 00
Martha Whitson, Steelville, Chester Co., Pa.	2 00
J. W. Price, Philadelphia	5 00
Mary Ann Evans	2 00
Cash	50
George Atkinson	5 00
Cash	50
Sarah Phipps	5 00
Cash	10
Anna Paxson	2 00
S. Pennock	1 00
A Friend	1 00
Dr. Fussell	5 00
Isaac Styver	1 00
W. W. Newell, Germantown	2 00
R. Craddock, Philadelphia	2 00
Hannah L. Stickney, Philadelphia	50
G. B. Cleveland	1 00
Alan W Corson	3 00
Henry Bowman	5 00
Lydia Newbold	2 00
M. Adela Thomson	5 00
Cash	50
J. William Cox	1 00
J. Jackson	1 00
Jesse Newport	2 00
M. D. Fussell	5 00
Jennett Jackson	1 00
Cash	2 00
Wilmer Atkinson	1 00
Cash	7 00
James and Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia	20 00
William Still	10 00
Mrs. S. C. Hallowell	1 00
James M. Watson	1 00
Henry Jones	1 00
Edith Pennock	50
Cash	50
Joshua Paxson	2 00
Charles Paxson	1 00
William Price	5 00
Susan Pierce	5 00
M. B. Pancoast	1 00
Cash	1 00
Mary F. Stickney	50
Cash	50
Cash	50
Cash	1 00
William	5 00
	$422 60
Sale of Tickets at Door	75 06
Sale of Tickets by Treasurer	25 75
Sale of Tickets previous to Meeting of Nov. 23	74 00
Cash	$597 41

PLEDGES.

Rachel Wilson Moore, Philadelphia	25 00
George Dodd, Philadelphia	50 00
Deborah B. Smith	3 00
John Child	5 00
	$680 41

About $220 of which came in through the Circulars.

Two of the lists that were handed in are as follows, but as the Collectors omitted to say which parties paid Cash and which only pledged, some confusion may arise. Of the total amount on the two lists, $91 52 Cash was handed in with the lists:

Cash	$1 00
Cash	1 00
M. W. Cooke	5 00
S. Lloyd	1 00
C. G. John	1 00
Cash	1 00
J. Whittier Fulton	1 00
Cash	1 50
M. T. Coxe	2 00
Cash	2 00
Sarah Fly	2 00
Martha Anthony	5 00
Cash	50
Cash	50
E. R. R.	1 00
Annie Shoemaker	2 00
E. P. Peabody	1 00
A small boy	2
O. B. Moore	1 00
Sarah J. Webb	2 00
Mr. Ash	1 00
Melissa Haines	1 00
H. Justice (Paid)	2 00
Dr. Hiram Corson	5 00
S. M. Barnard	1 00
P. Cloud	2 00
Louis Wagner	5 00
Cash	5 00
H. C. Ambler	50
T. Atkinson	55

Compared with some other years, the contributions were liberal; but with a better system more would have been collected.

RECAPITULATION.

Cash Brought Forward	$680 41
From the two foregoing lists	31 52
Various parties, names not given in	31 50
Total	$743 43

A SUPERIOR NUMBER.—THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for November contains sketches of the King and Queen of the Belgians, with likenesses; Chief Men among the Mormans, with many excellent portraits and other illustrations; besides Lyceum Lecturers; Dr. J. Fossati, the celebrated French Phrenologist; Public Opinion; Women who Talk; Family Dog; and a host of other reading, suggestive and profitable to all. Price 20 cents, or $2 a year. Address FOWLER AND WELLS, 389 Broadway, New York. 26 29,

THE HORACE WATERS GRAND, SQUARE AND UPRIGHT PIANOS, MELODEONS AND CABINET ORGANS. Wholesale and Retail. To let, and rent allowed if purchased. Monthly payments received for the same. Second-hand Pianos at bargains, from $60 to $225. Cash paid for second-hand Pianos. Pianos tuned and repaired. New 7-octave Pianos for $175 and upwards.
Factory and Warerooms No. 481 Broadway, New York.
1y HORACE WATERS.

GROVER & BAKER'S
HIGHEST PREMIUM
SEWING-MACHINES,
NO. 495 BROADWAY,
3 m NEW YORK.

FLORENCE
REVERSIBLE
FEED
LOCK-STITCH
SEWING-MACHINES.
BEST
FAMIMY MACHINE
IN THE
WORLD.
FLORENCE S. M. CO.,
1y 505 BROADWAY.

THE TRIAD,
A NEW COLLECTION OF MUSIC.
BY A. J. ABBEY.
This new work, in addition to a fine collection of new tunes and anthems, that have been pronounced by critics among the very best, contains an abridged method of learning to read music, by which a great deal of time is saved,
HORATIO G. ABBEY,
593 Broadway, New York.
Specimen Copies sent by mail for $1 60.
4t Price, $1 50; per dozen, $13 50. 29 32

BENDALL & SCOTT
209 & 211 Hudson St.
Cor. of Canal,
NEW YORK.
FURNITURE
OIL CLOTHS,
CARPETS,
BEDDING,
PIANO FORTES,
PAYMENT RECEIVED BY
Installments if Preferred. 1y

S. D. AND H. W. SMITH'S
AMERICAN ORGANS.
The BEST Reed Organ before the public. A few minutes examination will convince any one of this. Call and examine at the Wholesale Agency, 581 Broadway, New York.
Send for Price Circulars.
1y Address all orders SIBERIA OTT.

THE BOARDMAN, GRAY & CO.
PIANO-FORTES.
The Cheapest First-Class Instruments in the market.
DEALERS SUPPLIED ON LOW TERMS.
Also the
WM. McCAMMON PIANOS.
Pianos to rent and for sale on instalments.
Purchasers will find it much to their interest to address the subscriber for circulars and prices.
SIBERIA OTT,
1y Wholesale Agent,
581 Broadway, New York City.

GEO. L. STEARNS & CO.,
MANUFACTURERS OF
PATENT IMPOVED LEAD PIPE,
PURE BLOCK TIN PIPE AND SHEET LEAD,
ALSO DEALERS IN
PIG AND BAR LEAD,
COPPER AND IRON PUMPS,
HYDRAULIC RAMS, etc.
129 MILK STREET,
BOSTON.
GEO. L. STEARNS,
WM. J. BRIDE.

YOUNGS, L. WARNER AND WRIGHT,
MEN'S, YOUTHS AND BOYS
CLOTHING AND FURNISHING GOODS,
NO. 8 BOWERY, NEW YORK.
Garments Made to Order at Short Notice.
CHAS. E. YOUNGS. LEONA WARNER. CHAS H. WRIGHT. 1y

ARTIFICIAL LIMBS
FOR EVERY VARIETY OF AMPUTATION.
The most approved apparatus for exsections of the arm and leg, ununited fractures and shortened limbs, to restore them.
U. S. Army and Navy furnished by Commission of Surgeon-General U. S. Army.
Pamphlets and references sent to applicants by
E. D. HUDSON, M.D.,
Clinton Hall, up stairs, Astor Place, New York.

TURKISH BATHS.
NO. 63 COLUMBIA ST., BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, N. Y.
Encouraged by the favor with which the TURKISH BATH has been received, the undersigned is now prepared to make it still more efficient and attractive, by the introduction of various improvements suggested by an examination of similar baths in London, Constantinople, and elsewhere, during a visit lately made to Europe for that purpose.
Pleasant rooms, with board, can be furnished to a limited number of persons, who may desire to avail themselves of the Bath in connection with other hygienic agencies.
CHAS. H. SHEPARD, M.D.
HOURS.
FOR LADIES.....from 9 to 12 a.m.
FOR GENTLEMEN.....from 2 to 8 p.m.

FAMILY
KNITTING-MACHINES
For Hosiery and fancy articles. Manufactured by the Dalton Knitting Machine Company.
OFFICE, 539 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.
D. P. RHOADES, President.
WILLIAM JAMES BOGGS, Secretary.
For agencies and circulars apply as above.

THE PSALM KING
THE ONLY NEW SACRED MUSIC BOOK, THIS FALL
F. J. HUNTINGTON & CO., 459 BROOME STREET.
Just published, a collection of sacred music, consisting of Hymn Tunes, Anthems, Chants, Set Pieces, for all occasions of public and private worship, including sprightly, animated Glees and Choruses for convention and singing-school practice, by the popular author of the Sacred Lute.
Price $1.50 post free, $13.50 per doz.

ANY LADY may, without leaving her own home, improve her taste in Art, adorn her home, add to the pleasure and advance the culture of her friends, and secure a modest income for herself, by introducing our FINE STEEL ENGRAVINGS, EXQUISITE PHOTOGRAPHS, and rare and choice VINES. Any Gentleman may, in one year, secure a good homestead in the West. Address, for Circulars, or directly for a One, Three or Five Dollar Package of Specimen Pictures,
E. BROUNELL & CO.,
31 32 177 E. B. Avenue, Newark, N. J.

GOOD BOOKS FOR PRESENTS.—NEW PHYSIOGNOMY, with 1,000 Illustrations, $5, $8, or $10. It is a beautiful book. ÆSOP'S FABLES, People's pictorial edition, tinted paper, only $1. ILLUSTRATED FAMILY GYMNASIUM, $1 75. HOW TO WRITE, HOW TO TALK, HOW TO BEHAVE, and HOW TO DO BUSINESS, in one vol., $2 25. THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for 1867, only $2. Address FOWLER AND WELLS, 389 Broadway, New York. 32 33.

THE SINGER MANUFACTURING COMPANY'S
NEW FAMILY SEWING-MACHINE
Now ready; also Button-hole Machine.
tf No. 458 Broadway.

THE UNION BUTTON-HOLE MACHINE
Sold exclusively by the
SINGER MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
tf No. 458 Broadway.

THE SINGER SEWING-MACHINE,
With Improvements and Attachments for every speciality, including BUTTON-HOLE MACHINES.
tf No. 458 Broadway.

"GOOD BOOKS FOR ALL."—NEW PHYSIOGNOMY, 1,000 Illustrations, $5. EDUCATION COMPLETE, embracing Physiology, Memory and Self-Culture, $4. WEAVER'S WORKS—Hopes and Helps, Aims and Aids, Ways of Life, $3. HORACE MANN'S LECTURES, with Portrait, $3. NEW HAND-BOOK—How to Write, How to Talk, How to Behave, and How to do Business, $2 25. FAMILY GYMNASIUM, illustrated, $1 75. PHYSICAL PERFECTION, $1 75. LIBRARY OF MESMERISM AND PSYCHOLOGY, $4. EMPHATIC DIAGLOTT, or the New Testament in Greek and English, $4. SCIENCE OF HUMAN LIFE, by Dr. Graham, $3 50. All works on Phrenology, Physiology, Physiognomy, Psychology, Hydropathy, Phonography, and the Natural Sciences. Agents Wanted. Circulars free. FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y.
New Annual of Phrenology for 1867, by return post, 50 cents.
"SPECIAL LIST" of Private Medical Works, on receipt of stamp. 29 30

WHO WANTS A NEW RIFLE?—Every way superior to the Needle Gun. Who wants a splendid Piano, Melodeon, Sewing-Machine, Knitting-Machine, Washing-Machine, Clothes-Wringer, or a choice Library of Books, including New Physiognomy? All these are given as PREMIUMS for Clubs of Subscribers to THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for 1867. Send Stamp for Circular, to FOWLER & WELLS, No. 389 Broadway, N. Y. 29 30

$2.00.—TOOLS AND INSTRUCTIONS COMPLETE for Soldering Tin Ware, Copper, Brass, Lead Pipe, Zinc and Iron. "A very useful art, and not difficult to acquire." I warrant entire satisfaction and certain success, exactly as represented. Send Stamp for Circular of information.
31 43 A. P. BROWN, Syracuse, N. Y.

MONEY RETURNED
In full, if after a few days' use of "GODFREY'S CATARRH REMEDY" its effects are unsatisfactory. $5 a box—few require more. It is the prescription of one of the most eminent professors and surgeons in the United States, and is known to be a scientific, safe, and successful remedy. Occasionally a case may have passed into the incurable stage—for man was born to die—but that none may be imposed on, we make the above offer, agreeable to the printed statement on each box. Sold by P. C. GODFREY,
No. 3 Union Square, N. Y., and by all Druggists.
3 m

Swietenia.
LEVETT'S AROMATIC SWIETENIA is the best preparation for preserving the teeth and gums known. It has received the most lavish encomiums of all that have used it, and is the only dentrifice before the public that is indorsed by the most scientific men in the profession. The great advantage Swietenia possesses over other preparations for the teeth is that it is warranted not to injure, but on the contrary to preserve, the enamel, and prevent the teeth from decaying. It keeps the teeth in a healthy state, and gives to them brilliancy and lustre; to the gums

Miscellaneous Department.

AMONG THE LAURELS.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

The sunset's gorgeous dyes
Paled slowly from the skies,
And the clear heaven was waiting for the stars,
As side by side we strayed
Adown a sylvan glade,
And found our pathway crossed by rustic bars.

Beyond the barrier lay
A green and tempting way,
Arched with fair laurel trees, abloom and tall—
Their cups of tender snow
Touched with a rosy glow,
And warm, sweet shadows trembling over all.

The chesnuts sung and sighed,
The solemn oaks replied,
And distant pine trees crooned in slumberous tones:
While music low and clear
Gushed from the darkness near,
Where a shy brook went tinkling over stones.

Soft mosses, damp and sweet,
Allured our waiting feet,
And brambles veiled their thorns with treacherous bloom:
While tiny flecks of flowers,
Which own no name of ours,
Added their mite of beauty and perfume.

And hark! a hidden hand—
To sudden utterance stirred,
As by a gushing love too great to bear:
With voiceless silence long—
Burst into passionate song,
Filling with his sweet trouble all the air.

Then one, whose eager soul
Could brook no slight control,
Said: "Let us thread this pleasant path, dear friend—
If thus the way can be,
So beautiful to see,
How much more beautiful must be the end!

"Follow this solitude,
May shrine the haunted wood,
Storied so sweetly in romance and rhyme—
Secured from human ill,
And rarely peopled still,
By Fauns and Dryads of the olden time.

"A spot of hallowed ground
By mortal yet unfound,
Sacred to nymph and sylvan deity—
Where foiled Apollo glides,
And bashful Daphne hides,
Safe in the shelter of her laurel tree!"

"Forbear!" the other cried—
"O, leave the way untried!
Those joys are sweetest which we only guess,
And the impatient soul,
That seeks to grasp the whole,
Detects itself by its own eagerness.

"Let us not rudely shake
The dew-drop from the brake,
Fringing the borders of this haunted dell;
And the delights which are—
The present and the far—
Lose half their charm by being known too well!

"And he mistakes who tries
To search all mysteries—
Who leaves no cup undrained, no path untracked;
Who seeks to know so much,
Brushes with eager touch
The bloom of Fancy from the brier of Fact.

Keep one fair myth aloof
From hard and actual proof;
Preserve some dear delusion as they seem,
Since the reality,
How bright so e'er it be,
Shows dull and cold beside our marvelous dream.

"Leave this white page unscored,
This fair realm unexplored,
And let dear fancy roam where she will;
Whatever page we turn,
However much we learn,
Let there be something left to dream of still!"

Wherefore, for aught we know,
The golden apples grow
In the green vale to which that pathway leads;
The spirits of the wood
Still haunt its solitude.
And Pan sits piping there among the reeds!

THE MOST USEFUL OF TREES.

If trees took rank according to usefulness, the bamboo might fairly claim the crown of the vegetable kingdom. Tried by the test of utility to man, there is no plant the earth produces worthy to enter into competition with it. The Chinese say, and truly say, the bamboo is all profit. Seasoned with chillies, its tender young shoots make a favorite sambal of the Malay; sliced and boiled, they are served at the tables of the wealthiest Japanese; and when salted, dried, and prepared in vinegar, they make a pickle ever welcome to the Siamese gourmand. As the plant grows older, a fluid is secreted in its hollow joints, which affords a refreshing beverage, and if it is allowed to remain untapped, the valuable medicine tabischeer—said to resist alike fire and acids—is produced. The leaves of the bamboo are reckoned a sovereign remedy for sore throat, as the bark is all-powerful against fever, and other useful medicaments are obtained from its buds and roots.

Entire houses are constructed out of the bamboo, the stouter parts of the tree supplying ready-turned pillars, while the slenderer joints are combined together to form the walls. Split into laths, and beaten out, it makes an excellent flooring; and for the roof, the canes are arranged side by side across the building, with their concave sides uppermost to catch the rain; the edges of these are covered with another row, with the convex side outward, and thus the roof is rendered perfectly water-tight. Should the householder be lucky enough to own the land surrounding his domicile, a bamboo paliside forms his best protection against intruders, whether quadruped or biped. Does he want to bring the waters of the neighboring river into his service for domestic purposes, in the hollow stems of the bamboo he has pipes ready to his hand; pipes easily converted into gutters and spouts, to get rid of the water he does not want. Then, inside this bamboo house will be found chairs to sit upon, benches to recline upon, mattresses to lie upon, pillows to rest the head upon, and mats to put the feet upon—all and each of the same material as the tube through which their owner inhales the fragrant weed at home, and the cane he leans upon, as he takes his walks abroad, with a bamboo basket on his arm, a bamboo hat upon his head, and possibly bamboo splints at his finger-ends to protect his long uncut nails.

The tea crops of the inland districts of China find their way to the seaports upon the shoulders of the coolies. The strong bamboo canes are fastened to the sides of the load, their ends resting on the shoulders of the carriers. When the load is too much for four men, room is made for an additional number of bearers, by joining shorter bamboos to a cross-piece fixed to the ends of the longer canes. The palanquins of the mandarins are borne through the streets in a similar manner, just as sedan-chairs used to be carried through London thoroughfares in the days of our great-grandfathers. The bamboo is applied to transit purposes in many other ways. "The cany wagons light" of Milton are still used in Cathay; the Diak propels his light canoe by means of the bamboo; the river rafts of the Chinese are made of nothing else; and give a Hindoo boat-builder three pennyworth of bamboo, and he will turn out a four-ton vessel, with mast and sails complete.

The Japanese separate the heads of their corn from the stalks by beating it over a bamboo grating, which, having a sharp edge, cuts off the grains at every stroke, leaving them to fall through the grating to the ground; or after being thrashed with a bamboo flail, the grain is sifted with a bamboo sieve.

When about to erect a house, the first proceeding on the part of a Chinese builder, is the raising of a strong but light scaffolding of bamboo, and inside this the house is built. When a building is to be pulled down, the bamboo is again called into requisition; the roof having been taken off, each of the end walls is attacked by a party of coolies, who fix their bamboos as high up the wall as possible, and push steadily together till it topples over with a loud crash and a smothering dust. This process is often performed at a fire in order to stay the progress of the destroyer. The Cantonese possess a fire engine, but for all that, still press the bamboo into service, the hose being held over the people's heads on long bamboos, and by their agency carried quickly to any desired spot. The watch-towers, too, from whence the police discern the whereabouts of a fire as soon as it breaks out, are merely skeletons of bamboo. Lieut.-Col. Fisher bears witness to the ingenuity of the Chinese bamboo workers, and the strength of their work when done.

When a verandah was required for an English mess-room, it was some time before the bamboo worker could be made to comprehend exactly what was wanted. At last he was told to make "one piecey makey walkey topside, makey look see;" and the verandah soon proved that this extraordinary specimen of the English language was intelligent enough to him.

The Chinese man of letters writes with a bamboo pen upon paper of the same material; the musician extracts sounds, sweet to Chinese ears, from bamboo instruments, and the artist is indebted to the same source for his brushes.

Besides serving so many uses in commerce, industry and art, the bamboo performs its part in warlike operations, supplying lances, bows, and those wonderful grotesque shields with which the braves of the celestial empire seek to frighten their foes. The earliest attempt in the way of cannon, on the part of the Chinese, was a weapon of bamboo. In the war of '58, one of our Sepoy regiments was startled by a tremendous shower of rockets falling into their encampment at night, and killing a commissariat sheep.

Next morning a party was dispatched across the creek in search of the battery, and succeeded in capturing a number of novel machines, consisting of stout bamboos lashed together, which bad evidently been used for the discharge of the rockets that had caused such commotion among the guardians of the government stores. The bamboo did good service on our side in the hands of the coolies acting as a land transport corps, and earned them the popular designation of the "Bamboo Rifles;" while on the other hand, its employment in the shape of stakes driven deep in the mud before the forts of Taku, cost England the lives of many brave men, and entailed an expensive campaign to obliterate the memory of an untimely disaster.

There are several species of bamboo; but, according to Mr. Fortune, the best and most beautiful is the Mow-chok, which is largely cultivated in the central and eastern provinces of China. The stems of this handsome tree are straight, smooth and clear, attaining a height of from sixty to eighty feet in a very short space of time, for it grows at the rate of two or two and a half feet in twenty-four hours. This useful giant has been introduced into India, and may, in time, supersede the inferior descriptions of bamboo, and give the Hindoo one more reason to venerate the name of Robert Fortune.—*Chambers's Journal.*

SOCIAL HABITS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

I HAVE now known English working people in towns and cities pretty intimately for the last fifteen or sixteen years, and I venture to affirm distinctly that their habits are disorderly, that self-indulgence, exceedingly vulgar self-indulgence, is their bane, that the men spend habitually the larger portion of their earnings on their pleasures, chiefly in the form of drink, and that the women are an oppressed and helot class, crushed almost to the earth by habitual low feeding and bad treatment, and unable to exert themselves to make their persons neat or their homes endurable. Their children they do manage, indeed, to dress wonderfully well on Sundays; when the grubs come out as butterflies. The maternal instinct will assert itself, and great must be the sacrifices which these wives and mothers make to accomplish the one darling object. But I believe, unhappily, in no self-sacrifice on the part of the males of the working-classes generally. They are not trained to habits of order and regularity at home; they grow up reckless and extravagant, and the tree once bent never grows quite straight. Careless they live, and careless they die, habitually denying themselves little, habitually regardless of the wants of others. No matter what they earn, the future rainy day is never thought about. The English workman is indeed generous to his "chums," his fellow-workmen (far more so than the Frenchman, for instance), and will almost always subscribe to the assistance of a sick brother; but I speak from the closest observation when I say that he lives, comparatively at least, "on the fat of the land," while the wife and children have nothing but dry bread from Monday morning to Saturday night. The husband and father, in London and other large towns more particularly, is regarded as the bread-earner, and consequently as the *owner*, who has the right to do what he wills with his own. I have seen the most brutal selfishness exhibited in all its forms, selfishness that it would be impossible to exaggerate, or denounce too severely to public indignation. I have seen an artisan, for instance, who earned forty shillings a week, come home to his meat supper night by night, and consume it in his wife and children's presence, without even asking them to share a single morsel, and that when the wife was within two or three days of her confinement, and sinking from want of food. And public opinion in the court—that was the worst of the matter—saw nothing unusual or improper in this arrangement. The man had the right to do what he willed with his own. I have seen a young man, who earned his five-and-thirty shillings a week, live with a sick father, and jaded mother, and half-a-dozen starving children, and paying his three or four shillings a week for bed and breakfast, and never dreaming of adding a single penny to the household store, and yet spoken of as a good son by the mother under such circumstances! It seemed so natural to her; his class-morality sanctioned this course. A young man must want money for his dress and amusements; he could not be expected to think of his starving brothers and sisters, or of his worn-out mother, or of his slowly-dying father. Now these are not calumnies; they are melancholy and terrible facts, which I could authenticate with name and street, only that it would be very unjust to the individuals, who are fit representatives of their class. To show that these are not exceptional cases, I must add that for two years together I went about for nearly four hours every day in one of the most thickly populated parts of London, from room to room, introducing myself as the parish priest, sometimes, but rarely, treated with impertinence. Almost always I found working men ready to reason and to talk on religion and politics, housing habitually in the closest quarters, spending their earnings at the public house and the gin palace, not by any means devoid of promiscuous knowledge, picked up at unawares, not the ignorant monsters—a kind of South Sea savages—which city missionaries are so fond of painting (I never met with any such beings), but cute, cleverish, hard-headed men, endowed with a certain sense of honesty, habitually distrustful of Church and State, and of the clergy as a kind of moral police employed to keep them down, but yet not free from the usual English prejudice in favor of a gentleman, and rather glad to be able to say their say to one, face to face. Thousands of the clergy could corroborate my experience, thousands who have worked hard and far longer than I.—*The Rev. Archer Gurney in the Churchman's Family Magazine.*

ALONE WITH NIGHT.

I am sitting alone with the night,
Alone with the beautiful night,
And whether awake or a-dreaming,
I never can tell aright;
But my heart is as glad as a fountain
That leaps in the flashing light.

The stars are mounting on high,
And the old moon sinking a-low,
And over the fields of the barley
The night winds merrily blow,
And in at my window lightly
In ripples of coolness flow.

LOVERS of our old ballad literature will be glad to hear that the original manuscript collection from which Bishop Percy took his "Reliques" is about to be printed. The worthy bishop, unfortunately, thought it his duty to alter these ballads, and some were so transmuted during the process that very little of the antique color and aroma was left. Thus, the original "Childe of Elle," consisting of eight stanzas only, and ten small fragments, was drawn out into the long poem with which we are all familiar. Sometimes the story was entirely altered; for instance, in the original, "Sir Cauline" marries, and has fifteen sons; but in the Percy version both the knight and his lady are killed. The bishop's poetry may be very good, and he may have been compelled by the taste of his age to modify the plain outspokenness of the manuscript; but we want to know what is his, and what the old minstrel's. This we shall be able to do, if the scheme for printing the manuscript entire should succeed. We are told that it consists of 196 pieces, or about 40,000 lines; that the collection was made in the time of James I.; that £150 has been paid for the right to copy and print it; and that it will be published by subscription, under the direction of Mr. F. J. Furnivall.—*London Review.*

THE new development of the co-operative principle—partnerships of industry—is rapidly extending. A meeting was held in London on Thursday for the purpose of completing the arrangements for the newly-organized "Industrial Partnership of Clothiers." Shareholders in this concern will, in addition to the advantage of cheaper clothing, receive a share in the profits of the business in proportion to the amount of their purchases. Mr. Hughes, M.P., Capt. Grosvenor, M.P., and Mr. Beales were present, and took part in the proceedings. In connection with this matter the following information which we have received will be found interesting: The Industrial Partnership of Crossley and Sons, carpet manufacturers, paid as its last dividend 15 per cent., and the shares on which £10 have been paid are worth £17. 12s. 6d.; the Industrial Partnership of Briggs & Co., colliery owners, paid 12 per cent. as its last dividend, 5 per cent. bonus being given to wages, and 10 per cent. to working shareholders, and the shares, on which £10 have been paid, are worth £12. 10s.; the Industrial Partnership of Greening & Co., wire-workers, Maachester, paid 15 per cent. as its last dividend, and the shares, on which £5 have been paid, are worth, £6. 10s. In the face of such results, it is lamentable to find the iron-workers of the North of England refusing the opportunity which is being offered to them of becoming shareholders in the industry in which they are employed. As we have already mentioned, the iron-workers of Middleborough were about to accept a proposal of this kind offered by Messrs. Fox, Head, & Co., when they were deterred by the combination of all the local unions in the iron trade. Similarly, when the works of Messrs. Pile, Spence, & Co. (Limited) were recently placed in "liquidation," an offer was made by the new management to reopen the rolling mills at a reduction in wages of 5 per cent. only. The furnaces were in preparation, and a sufficient number of men were ready to resume work, when down came an "order" warning the unfortunate men off, and by implication threatening them with well-known trade union penalties for non-compliance with the ukase. They obeyed the order, and the results have been a loss to the iron-workers of West Hartlepool alone of something like £500 per week, and a consequent depression to the whole trade of the town. Conduct such as this is steadily driving away the trade from the North of England—at how heavy a loss to the operatives may be judged from the fact that some of them have been earning £2 a day, others 22s., and even the mill furnace-men upwards of 12s. a week? Discouraging as this refusal of the Middleborough and Hartlepool iron-workers is to those who believe co-operation to be the real and only solution of the formidable and growing dispute between capital and labor, an event has happened which will more than counterbalance this disappointment. At an agricultural dinner in one of the most Conservative counties in England, Lord George Manners, one of the representatives of that county, and a brother to the Duke of Rutland, who presided, proposed that the co-operative principle should be applied to agriculture as the best means of raising the deplorably low wages of the agricultural laborer. The idea is no new one. It has been put in force with excellent results by Mr. Gurdon, brother of the late member for West Norfolk, and is fully described in Mr. Fawcett's last work.—*Western Morning News.*

WAITING.

Grand is the leisure of the earth,
She gives her happy myriads birth,
And after harvest fears not dearth,
But goes to sleep in snow wreaths dim.
Dread is the leisure up above,
The while he sits whose name is Love,
And waits as Noah did, for the dove,
To wit if she would fly to him.

He waits for us, while houseless things,
We beat about with bruised wings
On the dark floods and water springs,
The ruined world, the desolate sea;
With open windows from the prime
All night, all day, he waits sublime,
Until the fulness of the time
Decreed from his eternity.

JEAN INGELOW.

INCREASING USE OF STIMULANTS.—Whether or not the startling statements of the *Round Table* concerning the frightful increase of drunkenness among women in New York "high life" be true—and whether or not there is foundation for the prevalent rumor that the Inebriate Asylum at Binghampton, New York, has received within its reclaiming influences fifteen hundred wives and daughters from the first families of the country, and yet has not taken half the female applicants, for lack of accommodations—one thing is certain, and patent to the most superficial observer. There is among women an increased use of stimulants, which is alarming, and to be deprecated. "Excuse my breath," said a beautiful lady to us a few days ago, as she entered our room, "but my physician orders me to take whiskey daily, to relieve an affection of the heart from which I suffer." "My doctor wishes me take wine to build me up," said another to us only last week, "but my husband thinks it doesn't agree with me, so I take a stiff hot sling every night before going to bed, such as he knows how to mix, and really, I can't sleep without it." "I go home every night from my work so fagged out," we heard a dressmaker say, "that the first thing I do is to take brandy and water. I'm fit for nothing till I do." "Let me give you a wine glass of claret," urged a kind-hearted lady, as we entered her house greatly fatigued. "You can drink *that*, for it stimulates, and does not intoxicate. *I* take it every day at dinner to assist digestion."

"My physician orders it." This is the excuse for the stimulating, which is on the increase, and often there is truth in the statement. To some of us, who are old-fashioned, and who were brought up to "total abstinence," and have come to believe that all drunkenness is preceded by occasional tippling, and has its root in moderate drinking, by the physician's prescription, or otherwise, this state of things is fraught with danger. It cannot be persisted in without ruinous consequences. Whenever men or women *habitually* resort to alcoholic stimulants to procure sleep, to deaden pain, to enliven the monotony of a weary life, to tone up an overworked or flagging system, or for the temporary excitement it brings, they are not far from a drunkard's grave. It is bad enough for men to lapse into habits of drunkenness. A drunken husband, a drunken father—only those patient, heart-broken, shame-faced wives and children on whom this great cross of suffering is laid, can estimate the misery which it brings.

But a drunken girl—a drunken wife—a drunken mother—is there for woman a deeper depth! Home made hideous—children disgraced, neglected and maltreated—graces of person and beauty of feature yielding to a bloated figure, bleared eyes, blotched and rheumy complexion—love, purity, order, all womanly virtues and instincts wiped out by one insatiable and demoralizing appetite—this is the picture conjured up as one thinks of drunkenness in woman. Drunkenness kills out woman's strongest instinct—that of maternity, and makes her fiendish, who should be angelic.—*Exchange.*

WEAK EYES.—Our readers may remember our having, about a fortnight ago, mentioned a curious discovery communicated to the Academy of Sciences by M. Faucault, to the effect that the sun might be contemplated with impunity through a lens covered with silver leaf, the latter being just transparent enough to allow of the Sun's disc being seen very clearly, though "shorn of its beams." Last week the Academy received a communication from M. Melsens, in which he described a very useful application of M. Faucault's discovery. He states that about the beginning of last July he received an injury from the bursting of a balloon containing a solution of iodine and liquid sulphurous acid, whereby both his eyes were attacked with violent inflammation, which he got the better of by a bold treatment. Nevertheless the cure was not so complete but that great weakness of the eyes remained (photophobia), so that light was painful to him.

He then had recourse to the sort of spectacles used by engine-drivers on railways. These spectacles are provided with black glasses, and as these were still too transparent M. Melsens put green ones over them. In this way they answered tolerably well, but the author ultimately used preservers with pale blue glasses, which he covered, not chemically, but mechanically, with either gold or silver leaf, and this he found to answer best of all, the light so transmitted being exceedingly pleasant, especially in the case of gold leaf. The latter, when yellow, lets green light pass, when green (that is, alloyed with silver) the eye recives blue light. M. Melsens, therefore, thinks persons laboring under the inconvenience of weak eyes will derive great relief from spectacles so prepared, and we trust the present article may catch the eye of persons so circumstanced.—*Galignani's Messenger.*

"A GOOD THING." "RICH AND RACY." "TIP-TOP." "LOOK AT IT." A Handsome Pictorial, A capital Family Magazine. TRY THE ILLUSTRATED PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL half a year—July to January—for $1; or a Year for $2. It is a good medium for *select* advertisements. Newsmen have it. Address FOWLER & WELLS, 389 Broadway New York.

STATIONERY, BLANK-BOOKS, ETC.

JOHN W. CLOTHIER,
(Late Clothier & Pedrick),

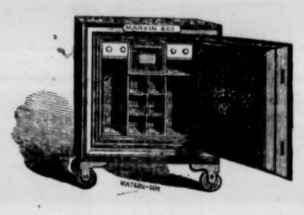
Has removed to 107 North Fifth street (formerly the Anti-Slavery Rooms), and will keep on hand a full assortment of Fancy and Staple Stationery, Blank-Books, etc.

ACCOUNT BOOKS,	PORTFOLIOS,
COMPOSITION BOOKS,	LEAD PENCILS,
DRAWING BOOKS,	STEEL PENS,
MEMORANDUM BOOKS,	GOLD PENS,
COPY BOOKS,	PEN HOLDERS,
LETTER PAPER,	WRITING INKS,
CAP PAPER,	INK STANDS,
NOTE PAPER,	VISITING CARDS,
BILL PAPER,	WEDDING CARDS,
ENVELOPES,	WATER COLORS,
etc., etc.	etc, etc.

Blank Books of every description made to order, of best material. Printed Books will be furnished at the Publishers' prices.

MARVIN'S PATENT

ALUM AND DRY-PLASTER FIRE AND BURGLAR



SAFES

Are entirely free from dampness, never corrode the iron, or lose their fire-proof qualities by age.

MARVIN & CO.,
265 Broadway, New York,
1y 721 Chestnut st., Philadelphia.

WILDER'S PATENT

SALAMANDER SAFES,

EXPRESS AND SPECIE BOXES,

WILDER SALAMANDER SAFE COMPANY,

DEPOT, 8 COURTLAND ST.,

1y NEW YORK.

BROWN'S PATENT BABY-TENDER,
OR
MAGIC SPRING CRADLE;

Designed to Relieve Mothers, Exercise and Amuse Children, and Obviate the Evils of the Rocking Motion.

The BABY TENDER, by a few simple changes, quickly as by magic, becomes,—

1. A BED OR SPRING CRADLE. The head-rest and foot rest can be lowered, or elevated, or removed. It is provided with a foot pedal which enables one to keep the bed in motion while sewing or reading. The Bed may be revolved upon the standard, to turn the child's eyes from a strong light, and its head in any desired direction. The whole rests on castors, and is easily moved around the room. A curved wire can be inserted to support a mosquito or fly net above the child's face.
2. A RECLINING COUCH, for children too young to sit alone.
3. A BABY HORSE, (or when elevated) a HIGH CHAIR, for the table.
4. A BABY WALKER, attractive and useful.
5. An OTTOMAN, for the parlor or dining room.
6. A HOBBY HORSE, for children under five years.
7. A NURSERY CHAIR.
8. A SPRING CHAIR.
9. A *BABY JUMPER*, for security, *exercise, and amusement*

The motion of the Baby Tender, which is VERTICAL AND NOISELESS, is derived from a Spiral Spring in the Ottoman, and, unlike that of the common Rocking or Swinging Cradle, is in the highest degree healthy, delightful, and soothing.

From the New York Daily Tribune, Wed'sday, Oct. 26, 1864.

BROWN'S BABY TENDER.—Next to sewing, the most exhausting work of women is the care of babies. It is not strange, therefore, that the baby tender should follow the sewing machine in the list of inventions adapted to general household use. Brown's Baby Tender, the only attempt that has been made to supply this almost universal want, we have had on trial, and can commend as superior to most human baby tenders. For a little baby it is a cradle, with all desirable appurtenances, having a vertical spring motion as gentle as that of a mother's knee. This motion is produced by a treadle, and does not interfere with sewing or reading. The cradle is turned in any direction by a touch, and the whole being on castors, is moved with slight effort. The cradle can be changed at will into a little couch, adjustable at any angle, and when the baby is old enough to sit up, it may be made a chair, with a place for playthings in front, while the child can dance up and down, aided by the vertical spring. When the child is old enough to stand, a support, revolving about the centre, sustains it in its efforts to step, and when it has learned to walk, a hobby horse attached instead of a cradle, affords healthful exercise and amusing pastime. The Baby Tender is also capable of being transmuted into a nursery chair or a high chair for the table, and when not in use for babies becomes a handsome ottoman. Its cost is moderate—from $25 to $100, according to style and finish; its construction is entirely safe; when packed it occupies seven cubic feet, and it weighs from 50 to 100 pounds. Few families, of even moderate means, can afford to be without a Baby Tender, and in the course of a few years we expect to see it in general use.

☞ Agents wanted in all places where not already established. In places where there are no Agents, we will send the article, securely packed, to order, from this City. Address,

THE BABY TENDER MANUFACTURING CO.,
939 Broadway, New York.

WHEELER AND WILSON'S

SEWING MACHINES,
OF EVERY STYLE,
FOR SALE OR TO LET,
BY JOHN T. ELLIS, NO. 939, BROADWAY, N. Y.

Parties hiring Machines, and afterwards wishing to purchase them, will be allowed a part of the rent money towards the payment. MACHINES REPAIRED, at short notice.
SEWING MACHINE SUPPLIES constantly on hand. CALL OR SEND YOUR ORDER.
JOHN T. ELLIS, No. 939 Broadway, New York.

JAY COOKE & CO.,

BANKERS,
NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, AND
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEALERS IN
GOVERNMENT BONDS,
TREASURY NOTES,
CERTIFICATES, ARMY AND NAVY
VOUCHERS, COIN & EXCHANGE.

Careful attention given to Collections upon the several Departments of the Government, and prompt Returnsmade.

HORACE WATERS'

MUSICAL ESTABLISHMENT,
No 481 Broadway, New York.

The Horace Waters' Grand, Square, and Upright Pianos, Melodeons, Organ Melodeons, and Cabinet Organs are known as first-class instruments, warranted for five years. Prices reduced, wholesale and retail. Second Hand Pianos and Melodeons at bargains. Price $60, $75, $85, $100, $125, $150, $200, and $225. Pianos and Melodeons to let. Monthly payments received for the same. One of the largest Stocks of SHEET MUSIC in the U. S. MUSIC BOOKS, and all kinds of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, and Music Merchandise at the *lowest rates*. Music, a little soiled, at 1 1-2 cents per page.
The Horace Waters' Pianos are known as among the very best.—N. Y. Evangelist.
We can speak of the merits of the Horace Waters' Pianos from personal knowledge, as being of the very best quality.—Christian Intelligencer.
All music published in the United States furnished by this house. All kinds of Instruction Books, Italian Strings, etc., etc.—Music mailed free. HORACE WATERS, Publisher,
481 Broadway, N. Y.

THE BEST AND CHEAPEST SHIRTS
IN THE CITY.

FINE NEWLY IMPROVED YOKE SHIRTS MADE TO ORDER, AND A PERFECT FIT WARRANTED. LARGE ASSORTMENT OF ALL KINDS OF MEN'S FURNISHING GOODS, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL, BY
GEO. M. TRACY, AGENT,
No. 101 WILLIAM ST.,
N. Y.

B. T. HAYWARD,
208 Broadway, New York,
Manufacturer of Temperance, Odd Fellows, Masonic Society, and all kinds of Emblem Pins, together with a full assortment of Jewelry, Pins, as per cuts above, made of solid gold and beautifully enamelled. I will send as sample, on the receipt of $1 50, together with my Wholesale Illustrated Circular to the Trade.

"THE HORTICULTURIST."

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL VOLUME—1867.

A Monthly Magazine, devoted to the ORCHARD, VINEYARD, GARDEN AND NURSERY; to *Culture under Glass, Landscape Gardening, Rural Architecture, and the Embellishment and Improvement of Country, Suburban and City Homes, Handsomely Illustrated.*
1867—Two Dollars & Fifty Cents; 1866 bound and post-paid, and 1867—$4.50; 1865 and 1866 bound and post-paid, and 1867—$6.
The three volumes contain 1,200 royal octavo pages.
GEO. E. & F. W. WOODWARD,
PUBLISHERS, 37 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

Also, just published, in extra bindings, and mailed, post-paid,
WOODWARD'S ANNUAL OF ARCHITECTURE, LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND RURAL ART FOR 1867.
Containing 176 original designs and plans of low-priced Cottages, Farm Houses and Out-buildings, with plans for laying out and embellishing small plots of ground.....$1.00
WOODWARD'S COUNTRY HOMES.
A practical work, with 150 Designs and Plans of Country Houses of moderate cost, with illustrated description of the manner of constructing Balloon Frames.....$1.50
JACQUES' MANUAL OF THE HOUSE.
A new Manuel of Rural Architecture; or, how to Build Dwellings, Barns, Stables and Out-buildings of all kinds, with a chapter on Churches and School-Houses, 126 designs and plans.....$1.50
FULLER'S FOREST TREE CULTURIST.
A new work on the cultivation and management of Forest Trees, by the author of the Grape Culturist; fully Illustrated..$1.50
HUSMANN'S GRAPES AND WINE.
A new and practical work on the Cultivation of the Native Grape and Manufacture of American Wine, fully Illustrated....$1.50
JACQUES' MANUAL OF THE GARDEN.
A New Manual of Practical Horticulture; or, How to Cultivate Vegetables, Fruits, Flowers, Ornamental Trees and Shrubs.....$1.00
JACQUES' MANUAL OF THE FARM.
A New Manual of Practical Agriculture; or, How to Cultivate all the Field Crops, with an Essay on Farm-Management.....$1.00
JACQUES' MANUAL OF THE BARN-YARD.
A New Manual of Cattle, Horse and Sheep Husbandry; or How to Breed and Rear Domestic Animals.....$1.00
GEO. E. & F. WOODWARD, Publishers,
And Dealers in all works on Architecture and Agriculture,
37 PARK ROW, New York.

Illustrated Priced Catalogue sent Free. 27 34

PARLOR ORGANS.

CARHART & NEEDHAM,
97, 99, and 101 East Twenty-third Street, N. Y.
(ESTABLISHED 1846)

Are the oldest manufacturers of Improved Reed Instruments in the United States, and are the inventors and patentees of the essential improvements made in this class of instruments up to the present date.

During this long period they have manufactured a vast number of instruments of all styles, and wherever they have been exhibited in competition with the instruments of other makers they have invariably taken the highest premium.

AT THE LAST
FAIR OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE

these instruments were considered by the judges above competition, and, giving the ordinary prize to another firm, they created a NEW CLASS PREMIUM and presented to CARHART AND NEEEHAM

A "SPECIAL" GOLD MEDAL,

a new and hitherto unawarded testimonial of excellence.
3 m ☞ Send for Illustrated Circular.

LOW-PRICED COLLECTION
OF
SACRED MUSIC.

THE CHAPEL. A Collection of Tunes in all Metres, Composed for, and Especially Adapted to the wants of all Church Choirs and Christian Worshippers. Home Circles and Social Gatherings. Price, in paper, 33 cts. boards, 40 cts. Sent post-paid. OLIVER DITSON & Co., Publishers, 277 Washington st., Boston. tf

NITROUS OXIDE GAS.

DR. COLTON originated the anæsthetic use of Nitrous Oxide Gas, *in place of Chloroform, in May, 1863, and up to this date* (May 28, '65), has administered it to *twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-nine* (12,389) patients. In no case has he failed to produce insensibility to pain, nor have we had a single case of ill-effects from the gas. From these facts, we feel that we are justified in pronouncing the gas entirely harmless. Every patient has signed our certificate scroll (now nearly 500 feet long), certifying to the above facts. We are willing to say to all patients, "We will charge you nothing, if we cause you pain." Price, first tooth, $2.00; each subsequent tooth, $1.00. COLTON DENTAL ASSOCIATION, 19 Cooper Institute, New York. 1 y.

ESTABLISHED 1826.

Between Broadway and Greenwich street.

An extensive assortment of Rosewood and Black Walnut PARLOR, LIBRARY, DINING, and BED-ROOM FURNITURE.
Also, Hair Mattresses, Spring Beds, etc.
ALL GOODS WARRANTED.
☞ Goods packed for Shipping with great care. 1y

P. A. FERGUSON TOWER
AND
C. C. DUSENBURY,

WATER-CURE AND MAGNETIC PHYSICIANS,
59 West Washington Place & 189 West Fourth St.
NEW-YORK.
ACUTE AND CHRONIC DISEASES TREATED.
1 y. OFFICE HOURS—8. A. M. TO 4 P. M.

ODONTOLINE.

ROGERS'S Fragrant Odontoline for cleansing and preserving the teeth, removes all substances destructive to the teeth, prevents discoloration and the accumulation of Tartar, and a spongy relaxed condition of the Gums, imparting a pleasant and refreshing fragrant taste to the Mouth; guaranteed to contain no acid, or any substance that will injure or destroy the teeth.

Its cleansing properties are certified to by prominent Dentists throughout the country.

Sold by Druggists, Fancy Goods Dealers, and Perfumers, and at Depot, 35 Cedar street, New York.

Ask for ROGERS'S FRAGRANT ODONTOLINE, and take no other. 1y

A MAN OF A THOUSAND.
A CONSUMPTIVE CURED.

DR. H. JAMES, a retired physician of great eminence, discovered, while in the East Indies, a certain cure for Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, Coughs, Colds, and General Debility. The remedy was discovered by him when his only child, a daughter, was given up to die. His child was cured, and is now alive and well. Desirous of benefitting his fellow mortals, he will send to those who wish it the receipe, containing full directions for making and successfully using this remedy, free on receipt of their names, with two stamps to pay expenses. There is not a single symptom of Consumption that it does not at once take hold of and dissipate. Night sweats, peevishness, irritation of the nerves, failure of memory, difficult expectoration, sharp pains in the lungs, sore throat, chilly sensations, nausea at the stomach, inaction of the bowels, wasting away of the muscles.
☞ The writer will please state the name of the paper they see this advertisement in. Address CRADDOCK & CO.,
20 22 1032 Race street Philadelphia, Pa.

J. M. EMERSON,
NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING AGENT,
NO. 83 NASSAU ST., N. Y.,
Is Agent for the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and all the Newspapers in the United States and British Provinces.

THE INDEPENDENT,

A Weekly Journal, published every Thursday in New York, and circulated in every State of the Union.
Edited by
THEODORE TILTON.

This journal advocates, to the best of its ability, every Struggling Moral Reform of the Time. It takes advanced views of Politics, Reconstruction, and Equal Rights. It believes in the Declaration of Independence, and steadfastly endeavors to convert the American People to the same faith. It respects Principles, and, for the sake of these, criticizes Men and Measures. It is Radical in its aims, impulses, and energies. Its pages are enriched by contributions from the best-known and best-loved writers in American Literature. Its Editorial department is the work of many pens, all having one great purpose—the Elevation of Man. It has regular correspondence from Foreign Countries, and from important points in the United States. At present, it has a travelling correspondent in the South, who makes weekly reports of the condition of the Rebellious States. It publishes every week a Sermon by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, taken while fresh by a short-hand reporter. It has a special department of Commercial and Financial Intelligence, which, it is believed, is second to that of no journal in America for pains-taking accuracy and acknowledged value. It devotes a liberal corner, every week, to the young folks, by furnishing a Children's Column, containing both amusement and instruction. It publishes a careful digest of all the News of the Day—both secular and Religious—giving to each religious denomination a fair and impartial exhibit of its own important facts and statistics. It has, too, a department of Agriculture, conducted by a practical and experienced hand. In short, *The Independent* endeavors to equip itself with every appointment of a first-class journal—and, whenever it speaks, *to speak in earnest.* Its circulation is, at present, about 65,000 copies, and continually increasing. Its terms are as follows:

By Mail, $2 50 for 52 numbers, in ad.
" 1 50 " 26 " "
" 88 " 13 " "
" 3 00 " 52 " after three months.
" 3 50 " 52 " after six months.

Delivered in New York or Brooklyn, by carrier, 50 cents per year additional.
Published by
HENRY C. BOWEN,
No. 5 Beekman stree
New York.

THE RIGHT WAY;

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER,

Devoted to the discussion of

"RECONSTRUCTION,"

On Equitable Principles, including Suffrage without Distinction
OF
RACE OR COLOR,

and advocating the Democratic doctrine that Government is instituted for the Benefit of the People, and not for a Class. As an Advertising medium it is well worthy of the attention of business men. It has a large circulation in every State of the Union, South as well as North. Terms for advertising liberal.

Published weekly, at No. 83 Sudbury street, Boston, Mass., by
WILLIAM W. THAYER, Agent,
to whom all letters may be addressed.

TERMS.—To Single Subscribers, $1 00 a year; to Club of Six $5 00 a year, and at the same rates for six months.

For sale by all News Dealers in the Country. Price, Three Cents.

Dealers supplied by A WILLIAMS & CO., Boston; AMERICAN NEWS CO., New York, and by THE LITERERY AGENCY, No. 234 Pennsylvania Avenue, Room No. 5, Washington, D. C., on the usual terms.

Specimen copies gratis.

THE RADICAL:

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO RELIGION.
EDITED BY S. H. MORSE.

The general purpose and character of this work may be sufficiently indicated in its title. It is proper, however, to add the *following statement: The Radical furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the